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ABSTRACT

This course, one of 16 sequential courses comprising phase one of a part-time Bachelor of Arts degree program in Australian Studies, contrasts the literary image of an Australian rural national character with the evidence of a predominantly urban character for postwar Australia. It is designed for independent study combined with tutorial sessions. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the course and its study objective. Chapter 2, "Social Science Criticisms of the Bush Legend: Types of Evidence and Argument," covers legend and the reality of increasing urbanization. Chapter 3, "Cities and Suburbs in Australia," deals with the images of urban and suburban life and suburban inequalities. Chapter 4, "Using Empirical Evidence," introduces the use of statistics, while Chapter 5, "Urban and Social Structure of Brisbane 1976," uses Brisbane as a case study of the issues discussed earlier. The two tutorial sessions for this course deal with the substantive issues raised in the course and with improving written communication. Also included are lists of required readings, additional readings, a bibliography, and self-assessment questions. (IS)

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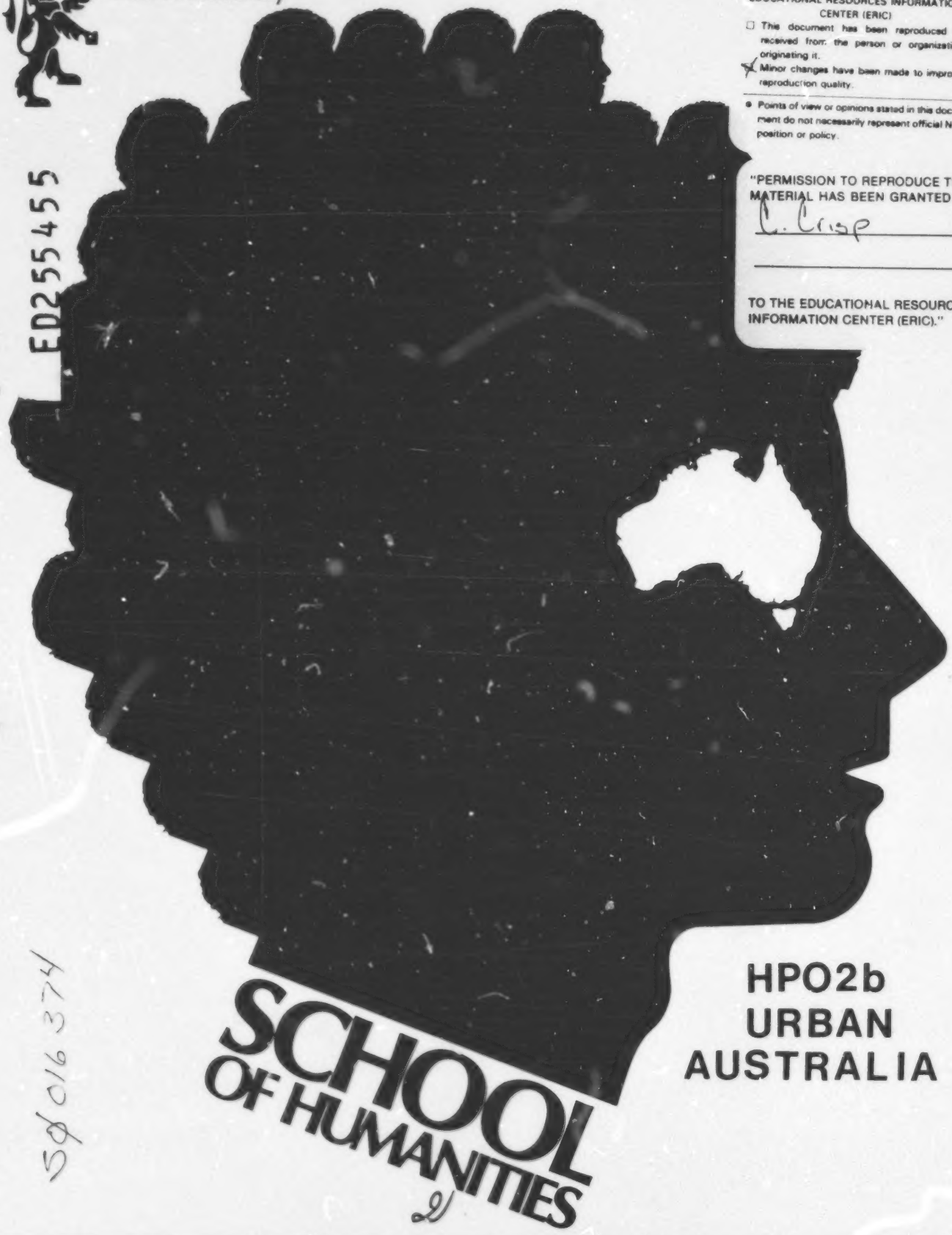

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

HPO2b
URBAN
AUSTRALIA

SO 016 374

PART TIME BA DEGREE

GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

PART-TIME BA DEGREE PROGRAMME

COURSE HP02b

URBAN AUSTRALIA

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HP02b/2

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COURSE INFORMATION: HP02b

Course readings

For this course you need to buy one text, available in the University bookshop:

Geoffrey McDonald & Michael Guilfoyle, *Urban Social Atlas of Brisbane 1976* (Griffith University 1980) ($10.00)

This text will be used towards the end of the course as a case-study in the social characteristics of a major Australian city. You are also expected to retain three texts from previous courses:

Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend* (O.U.P. 1958, 2nd ed. 1966) - from Course HP02a, *The Bush Legend*

Richard White, *Inventing Australia* (Allen & Unwin 1981) - from Course HP01a, *Defining Australia*

William Coppell, *Australia in Figures* (Penguin 1981) - from Course HP01b, *Traditions*

The other necessary readings have been assembled in the course readings which accompany this study guide in the course package. Each reading is numbered (see also the list on p.3 below). Most of the readings consist of excerpts from books and articles. They are related to one another in ways which are explained in this study guide. Instructions on when to read particular items, and the purposes of your reading, should be closely followed, so that the general direction of the course, and the relations between its parts, are as clear as possible. Full details on the sources of the extracts are provided for anyone who wants to undertake further reading on a particular point. All course materials (books, journals, newspapers, pamphlets, etc.) are available in the Griffith University Library. However, you do not need to read anything beyond the contents of the course package in order to handle the assessment successfully. If you wish to explore further some of the themes in this course, a few additional readings are listed purely for your own interest at the end of this study guide (p.63).

Tutorial activities

As you already know from previous courses, the tutorials are intended to provide you with an opportunity:

1. to discuss the most effective ways to work through the course materials, and thus help you in what is probably a new form of study

2. to sort out any difficulties you may find in particular readings

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3. to grasp the connections between the readings more clearly

4. to gain practice in building up a coherent written argument.

There are two tutorial activities for Course HP02b; these are described on pp.60 and 61 below. Before the first tutorial, you should give some consideration to the relevant SAQs, and preferably make some brief notes for use in the tutorial discussion. You may also be asked to bring a course text, or some course readings, which will serve as the basis for further discussion. The second tutorial, in addition to reviewing the content of the course, will take up the issues raised by the assessment item.

You may find it productive to continue working past the point in the study guide where the first tutorial appears without waiting until you have attended the tutorial.

Attendance at tutorials is not compulsory. If you can't come to a tutorial, or if you feel confident that you have mastered the main points in the study guide and readings, then you can still check your progress by consulting the answers to the SAQs at the end of the study guide. The assessment item may also be discussed at special assessment tutorials which are programmed during the mid-year and end-of-year breaks. You may also discuss the assessment with your tutor by telephone or letter.

Assessment

The forms of assessment in each of the first four courses of Phase 1 are deliberately varied to introduce you to the main forms of assessment you will encounter in your studies. The assessment item for Course HP02b is enclosed in the course package. You will see that two sections must be completed. The first consists of two short essays, in which you are asked to evaluate particular arguments and course readings. The second section consists of brief answers interpreting the evidence presented in simple statistical tables.

You will find that it is necessary to work your way carefully through the study guide and readings, tackling the SAQs as you go, before you are in a position to complete the assessment item properly. The SAQs, and the tutorial activities based on them, provide good practice for successfully tackling the assessment item at the end of the course.

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LIST OF READINGS

Readings are numbered in order of use, and aggregated according to the section of the study guide in which they first appear.

(Note: It is assumed that students have their own copies of the four texts listed on p.1: McDonald & Guilfoyle, Ward, White, and Coppell. Excerpts to be consulted from these books are therefore not reproduced in the course readings, and are not listed below.)

Section 2 (pink cover)

Reading 1. Sean Glynn, *Urbanisation in Australian History 1788-1900* (excerpt)

Reading 2. John McCarty, 'Australian capital cities in the nineteenth century' (excerpts)

Reading 3. Sol Encel, *A Changing Australia, 1939-1971* (excerpts)

Section 3 (cream cover)

Reading 4. David Thorns, 'Louis Wirth's concept of urbanism'

Reading 5. Dennis Wrong, 'Suburbs and myths of suburbia' (excerpts)

Reading 6. David Thorns, 'Suburbia: myth or reality?' (excerpts)

Reading 7. Leonie Sandercock, 'Planning in a property-owning democracy' (excerpts)

Reading 8. Frank Stilwell, 'The current economic depression and its impact on Australian cities'

Reading 9. Donald Horne, 'The first suburban nation' (excerpt)

Reading 10. Tim Rowse, 'Australian critics on suburbia'

Section 4 (yellow cover)

Reading 11. Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (excerpts)

Assessment Item

Reading 12. Craig McGregor, 'Social myths and social change'

Reading 13. Selected Statistical Tables

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PRELIMINARY EXERCISE

This course deals to a large extent with people's attitudes towards - or images of - the bush, the city, and the suburb.

Consider the following statements before you start reading the study guide and course readings. This exercise is purely to get you thinking about some of the issues raised by this course, and there are no 'correct' answers. You might like to come back to this page towards the end of your work in this course, reconsider the answers you have given now, and give reasons for any second thoughts. Tick the appropriate columns below:

	True	False	Not Sure
1. There used to be important differences between the attitudes of 'city' people and those of 'bush' residents in the late nineteenth century.			
2. In modern Australia, there are still important differences between the attitudes of 'city' and 'bush' residents.			
3. Most Australians still like to identify with the set of attitudes and behaviour described on page 2 of Russel Ward's book *The Australian Legend*.			
4. Living in a particular suburb tends to promote a uniformity of attitudes and lifestyle among its residents.			
5. Australia is not a 'rural' society, nor a 'city' society, but is really a 'suburban' society.			
6. The differences among Brisbane suburbs are basically due to the income level of their residents.			
7. Social science will soon sweep away all the old myths about Australian society.			

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1 INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE AND ITS STUDY OBJECTIVES

You have already considered in the previous three courses some very important questions concerning the meaning of Australian identity and national character. Indeed, the concept of a single or coherent Australian identity has been questioned - not only because of the ethnic diversity of the population (Course HP01b, *Traditions*), but also because of the changing content given to notions of Australian identity by successive generations of intellectuals (Course HP01a, *Defining Australia*).

You have also begun to consider the various types of evidence - including literature (Course HP02a, *The Bush Legend*) - which have been used to establish particular conceptions of 'distinctively Australian' attitudes and behaviour. Course HP02a examined aspects of the major Australian self-image in the late nineteenth century, developed in particular in popular literature: stories, poems, ballads, journalism. This self-image was fundamentally located in 'the bush' rather than the cities, and has been described in detail by Russel Ward in his book *The Australian Legend*.

In this course, *Urban Australia*, we will take as our starting point this 'legend' concerning the Australian national character. Attention will be given to the contrasts between literary or cultural conceptions of Australian-ness, and the urban character of twentieth-century Australia.

We will be concerned with the following key questions:

1. Why have social scientists criticised the 'bush' legend as a guide to Australian identity?

2. What kinds of evidence have social scientists used in their discussion of urban Australia?

3. What are the main features of urban life in modern Australia?

4. What are the relationships between the 'country', 'city' and 'suburb'?

5. Do urban Australians tend to have similar attitudes and lifestyles, or are there important social and economic differences among urban residents (e.g. among the suburbs of a large city like Brisbane)?

6. What are the differences between Brisbane and other capital cities in Australia?

We will be especially concerned to examine the nature and uses of empirical evidence. ('Empirical' here means factual, based on observation, rather than speculation or intuition or imagination.) We will examine the ways in

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which empirical evidence has been used to support, or to criticise, certain images of Australian society and national identity. We will see that it is important to distinguish between the main types of evidence which are used in these arguments.

In this course, we will make three distinctions between the main types of evidence:

1. formal and systematic evidence (gathered and arranged in a systematic manner according to some principles of academic or scientific inquiry);
   versus informal and subjective evidence (based on personal opinions, 'common sense' impressions, individual preferences, etc.).

2. quantitative evidence (statistical tables, expressing and comparing the numbers of cases in particular categories);
   versus qualitative evidence (values, preferences, emotions, impressions, attitudes - these can, in some cases, be given a 'quantitative' form through public opinion polls or attitude surveys).

3. various types of evidence appropriate to different academic disciplines (e.g. the subject matter of literary studies, or of economic history, urban sociology, or mathematics).

These distinctions obviously overlap. For example, a lot of sociology (3) is both formal (1) and quantitative (2). We also find that different types of evidence are often mixed up together, especially in journalism. We will see later that each of these types of evidence has strengths and limitations. Different types of evidence can sometimes lead to different explanations of a problem. We may find that no single type of evidence is entirely sufficient for resolving a complex problem like national identity.

One key issue concerns whether it is possible to 'disprove' an image or myth of national identity by appealing to a set of 'facts' (empirical evidence). For example, is it possible to 'disprove' the importance of the 'bush legend' simply by showing that most Australians live in cities and towns? To become familiar with the uses of empirical evidence, we will spend some time with introductory exercises dealing with understanding simple tables of statistics (for example, figures on population growth, or figures on the economic differences between suburbs). We will be concerned here to show the need for caution in using quantitative evidence to 'disprove' any image of society.

In addition to our concern with types of evidence, including the contrasts and confrontations between 'myths' and 'reality', we will also enquire whether there is a general set of attitudes and behaviour that we can identify

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with urban and suburban Australia. If we find important differences among urban residents, this probably makes it difficult to generalise about urban life in Australia, and therefore perhaps about 'Australian identity' or 'Australian attitudes' as well.

The course concludes with a careful examination of a recent empirical study of socio-economic differences among the residents of Brisbane. Here we will investigate some of the ways in which we may classify groups of people according to economic and social factors, such as income, occupation, housing, education and ethnic background. Categories of this type are often used to construct simple concepts of 'social class' and 'urban social structure', which we will consider briefly at various points in this course. Differences between Brisbane and other capital cities are also discussed.

The remainder of the study guide is organised in four main parts:

(a) Social science criticisms of the bush legend, with emphasis on the types of evidence and argument used by social scientists (section 2);

(b) An introduction to conceptions of urban and suburban life, using Australian and overseas examples (section 3);

(c) An introduction to the interpretation of statistical evidence, using examples from the course readings (section 4);

(d) A study of Brisbane suburbs, using the empirical skills outlined in the previous sections (section 5).

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2 SOCIAL SCIENCE CRITICISMS OF THE BUSH LEGEND: TYPES OF EVIDENCE AND ARGUMENT

2.1 The Bush Legend revisited

You are already familiar with Russel Ward's book, *The Australian Legend*, which explores the formation of a set of 'distinctively Australian' characteristics. You have also been introduced to some criticisms of the Ward thesis, especially by such writers as Graeme Davison who offers an alternative account of why 'urban' intellectuals in the 1890s tended to romanticise 'bush' attitudes. We will now review some key aspects of Ward's approach, before introducing in the next section (2.2) the most common theme in social-science criticisms of the bush legend: the central importance of urbanisation in shaping Australian society and culture.

Ward, you will recall, denies that his book was intended as a historical description of the actual behaviour and ideas of most Australians. What, then, did he intend to describe? He wanted to show how a particular stereotype of the 'typical' Australian emerged in the nineteenth century as the major image of Australian character and identity. This stereotype had historical roots in the attitudes and behaviour attributed to a particular social group - the pastoral workers - who were in no way representative of the whole population (or even of native-born males). The behaviour of 'average' (ordinary, representative) Australians did not necessarily conform to the behaviour attributed to the 'typical' (distinctive, peculiar) national type. Ward seeks to document the increasing cultural influence of this stereotype, which spread by 'osmosis' in the large centres of population via literary journals, trade unionism, closer links between town and country, the increasing proportion of native-born residents, and the effects of the economic depression. Ward seems to believe that this national stereotype was increasingly attractive because it was so clearly distinguishable from the major British stereotypes. The 'average' (actual) Australians may have been largely British in their attitudes but the 'typical' Australian (the bush worker) was thought to have distinctive qualities. The exaggeration of these 'bush' qualities was thus closely tied to anti-colonialism and was taken up by the nationalist writers of the late-nineteenth century.

How 'realistic' was the bush legend? Ward often seems to believe that the pastoral workers' attitudes embodied in the legend actually corresponded with important aspects of bush society. In other words, he assumes that the 'typical' Australian outlook was the actual outlook of (at least) the pastoral workers in the late-nineteenth century. On the other hand, Ward is careful to stress that the Australian self-image revealed in the legend was often 'romanticised and exaggerated' (Ward, pp.vi, 1).

For Ward, the legend or mystique is not just fantasy, dream and imagination. The Australian legend, he claims, perhaps has 'a more solid substratum of fact' than most national legends. Moreover, he continues, there are two ways in which a people's idea of its own national character is always connected with reality: 'it springs largely from a people's past experiences, and it often modifies current events by colouring men's ideas of how they ought "typically" to behave' (Ward, p.1).

Thus, Ward is saying that (1) this legend, anchored in at least some aspects of social reality, is not a product of sheer imagination; (2) the qualities attributed to the 'typical' Australian (pastoral worker) undoubtedly have been exaggerated; and (3) the legend has had a social impact and importance because it has affected the way in which most other Australians behave or think they should behave (as 'real Australians').

It may be useful to summarise three major themes in Ward's book: the formation of a distinctive outlook, the transmission of that outlook, and the use of literary evidence.

1. Formation: Ward suggests that the formation of a distinctive outlook may be explained in terms of two main factors: physical environment, and the social-class relations of the nineteenth-century colonies. The physical setting - harsh climate and terrain, isolation, natural disasters, etc. - obliged men to rely on one another (mateship, collectivism) and develop practical skills. This was reinforced by the social origins of the convicts, ex-convicts and bush workers who developed a distrust of authority and championed the 'small' men against the remote landowners and police. Ward's arguments here rely on the evidence of social history (evidence concerning work, immigration, social relations, property rights, etc.), plus some conjecture concerning the 'necessary' links between physical environment, social relations, and certain distinctive attitudes and behaviour.

It is usually difficult to draw clear links between these three factors - attitudes, physical environment, and social relations. You are entitled to raise some doubts about whether the links Ward suggests are really persuasive. For example, does a harsh environment necessarily produce the attitudes typified by the bush worker (pp.2, 11)? We might conclude that to argue about the formation of ideas involves a large degree of speculation and guesswork concerning the relative significance and influence of various factors.

2. Transmission: Ward seems to distinguish between three overlapping stages in the transmission of the bush ethos. In the formative stage, essentially before 1850, the foundations were laid among the convicts and ex-convicts who formed the bulk of the bush workers; they were the 'natural'

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carriers of the bush attitudes. In the second stage, this ethos was generalised by a process of cultural absorption of newcomers, interaction between bushmen and townsmen, and an increasing self-consciousness among the Australian-born majority of the population. (For the significance of local-born groups, see pp.18, 113, 193, 208.) In the third stage, the bush ethos was taken up, modified, and strengthened by working-class industrial and political organisations, and by 'middle-class political and literary nationalism' (pp.13, 114). This third stage is described in chapter 8 of Ward's book.

3. Use of literary evidence: Ward claims (p.13) that the key evidence concerning the early development of the bush ethos is found most clearly in 'popular culture' rather than in the traditional 'high culture' of the educated elites. This explains Ward's special concern with ballads, stories, travellers' impressions, and other informal and qualitative sources of evidence (see his Bibliography, especially pp.264-71, 275). Do you think that Ward's use of ballads, stories and travellers' impressions are a reliable form of evidence concerning colonial attitudes and social relations? Do you think that Ward's population statistics (see, for example, pp.16, 47, 94, 113) are more valuable evidence than 'literary' forms of evidence? (We will see later that quantitative evidence can be just as unreliable, or slippery to handle, as qualitative evidence.)

In short, Ward suggests that the formation and dissemination of the bush ethos was largely a pragmatic response to the social and environmental conditions of the outback; yet, on the other hand, he says that the portrait was overdrawn, exaggerated and romanticised in literature, folklore, and popular imagery. Ward seems to claim that the original version of the ethos involved a fairly close correspondence between image and social reality, but that this correspondence was gradually diluted by the changing socio-economic character of Australian society; and the legendary qualities were embellished through literary romanticisation. The 'bush myth' came to lead an increasingly idealised existence: it came to stand primarily for a distinctive national character, instead of describing a set of more or less real qualities of a particular social group.

Ward claims that, in the 'partly unconscious search for a folk hero who should symbolise the nation' (p.254), there was no other figure available than the bushman, whose ethos was most clearly different from the British way of life. This explains the rural setting of the myth, and also its collectivism (in contrast to American individualism and British traditionalism). Ward does not concern himself with urban social qualities which could possibly have been seen as 'distinctively Australian'; but some of Ward's critics, including Sean Glynn (reading 1), demonstrate that the urban 'larrikin' had already been taken up as a character in popular fiction around the end of the nineteenth century (e.g. by C.J. Dennis).

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At the end of chapter 9, Ward makes some personal evaluations concerning our nationalist ideas insofar as these are forged around the bush legend. He finds that some aspects are unattractive, and should be rejected, e.g. racism. He also suggests that our national traditions should be adapted to modern conditions (pp.258-9). But how could we modify the bush ethos without destroying its 'bush' qualities and substituting other qualities? There are several groups which have been excluded from the ambit of the Australian legend: non-British migrants, Aborigines and women; and perhaps many city-dwellers. Some critics would claim therefore that the Australian legend has been made obsolete through the mere passage of time, lingering on only in remote pockets of the outback, among the male 'ockers' of the local pub, and at RSL reunions. The revival of 'bush' and 'digger' imagery in recent Australian films, however, might demonstrate that the legend still has some commercial vitality, even if critics dismiss such images as the recycling of nostalgia.

We have now completed our review of Ward's arguments concerning the main features of the bush myth, its origins, and the reasons for its growing influence in the late nineteenth century. In the next sections, some of the main ocial-science criticisms of Ward's thesis are briefly discussed in order to demonstrate the uses of evidence and argument in modern debates on national character and Australian society. In selecting the articles by Glynn and McCarty (readings 1 and 2) the purpose is to demonstrate the usage of different forms of evidence and argument by social scientists in their approach to questions of national identity and social change. We are not primarily concerned with proving or disproving Ward's argument; we are more concerned with understanding the different ways in which arguments are constructed, and the different types of evidence that are used in such arguments.

2.2 The central importance of urbanisation

Reading 1, by Sean Glynn, is excerpted from chapter 4 of his book, *Urbanisation in Australian History, 1788-1900*. This reading is a good example of how a social scientist - in this case, an economic historian - tries to deal with 'intangible' concepts like national identity, ethos, legend and myth. You will notice that he is very critical of any attempt to construct a national 'type', especially on the basis of literary evidence. He also makes an important point concerning the need for examining contrary evidence as well as supporting evidence for an argument.

Glynn's main assumption is that because most Australians lived in towns and cities by the 1890s, they must have been part of an urban (or even British urban) culture, rather than of a local 'rural' culture. This assumption is contentious and difficult to 'prove'. Glynn's view is that urban life gives rise to a separate set of values and

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attitudes from rural life. This view is repeated in the recent writings of popular social critics like Donald Horne and Craig McGregor (readings 9 and 12), and in the work of most social scientists, who point to the dwindling numbers of rural dwellers in twentieth century Australia. Glynn is concerned to mount an empirical critique of the Ward thesis.

In reading Glynn's excerpt, try to keep in mind that there are two 'levels' of criticism, one concerning particular pieces of empirical evidence, the other concerning the most appropriate method or strategy for analysing social and cultural phenomena. To elaborate a little on this distinction:

(a) Some of Glynn's criticisms concern the adequacy of Ward's evidence (do the 'facts' presented by Ward prove his argument? Are there other facts, not mentioned by Ward, which would tend to disprove his argument? What kinds of empirical evidence are most reliable?).

(b) Other criticisms concern the adequacy of Ward's intellectual methods or strategies, i.e., the questions he attempts to examine, the concepts he uses, and his assumptions about how the questions should be answered.

Thus, in the first case, Glynn disputes aspects of Ward's evidence and puts forward alternative or additional evidence (e.g. his discussion of statistics on native-born Australians; and his discussion of the 'urban larrikin' theme in literature, a set of evidence which he claims that Ward ignored). In the second case, Glynn criticises the overall methods and objectives of Ward's book (e.g. he rejects the appropriateness of Ward's approach to determining our national character via an exploration of mainly literary images, to the neglect of urban history).

These two levels of critical analysis - questions of evidence and questions of method - are very closely related: sometimes they are both involved in a particular line of critical argument. It is nevertheless useful to distinguish between them in your reading of Glynn and of other social scientists.

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Read Sean Glynn, *Urbanisation in Australian History 1788-1900* (excerpt), reading 1, and attempt to answer the following questions.

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SAQ 1

1. What reasons does Glynn give for being wary of literary evidence in establishing our national identity or national characteristics? (20 words)

2. Do you think that literary images of Australian character are relevant to establishing our national identity? Give reasons. (20 words)

3. Does Glynn himself use any literary evidence in suggesting the existence of an 'urban' ethos in Australia? What example does he give?

4. Glynn does not believe that statistical evidence is always clear and reliable. Find a paragraph where Glynn expresses some caution. What is the reason for his caution? (R1:4)

5. How does Glynn explain the 'paradox' that a romantic bush ethos gained ground in an urban nation in the 1890s? (Glynn, R1:6-8)

6. Do you think that Glynn presents adequate evidence for his claim (R1:6) that 'by 1890 urbanisation and, to a lesser extent, suburbanisation had begun to dominate the day-to-day life of a majority of Australians'?

7. Do you think that Glynn's claim for the dominance of an urban culture over a rural culture can survive the following criticism by John Barrett ('A defence of the Ward thesis', *Historian*, no. 25, October 1973, p.4): 'This is where the general run of Ward's critics go wildly astray. They deny a close connection between town and country. They fasten on to figures of urban dwellers - an Australian majority - and claim triumphantly that this disproves the Ward thesis or, at any rate, proves that the Australian self-image is a fantasy. They never seem to stop to consider how rurally-orientated Australian cities were, how many city-dwellers had originally been part of that famous drift from the country to the city, how urbanised a person is in a town with a population of five hundred (classified as urban in Australian censuses), and so on.'

Consideration of Glynn's arguments, and of the points made by Barrett (at the end of SAQ 1), may leave us wondering whether it is possible to ascribe a clear dominance to either an 'urban' or a 'rural' ethos in late nineteenth century Australia. Ward himself conceded in *The Australian Legend* that he was not writing a complete history of Australia - in which the role of cities would be very

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important, and in which city/country relationships could be more carefully examined. Nevertheless, he wants to claim that the bush 'set the tone' for urban sensibilities and national self-consciousness. In other words, in the interaction between urban and rural Australia before 1900, rural attitudes were more influential. Ward clearly believes that nineteenth century towns and cities were basically 'frontier' settlements in which 'bush' attitudes were widely held, whereas Glynn assumed the existence of an imported urban culture which was gradually undergoing local adaptations.

Consideration of Glynn's extract also should have alerted us to some of the debates which arise concerning the use of evidence in social and historical writing. Questions about the reliability, representativeness, and general appropriateness of evidence have emerged from this reconsideration of the Ward thesis. Different types of evidence may lead to different types of explanations and conclusions. Different writers favour different types of evidence - with different consequences. As we saw earlier (p.6), we can distinguish between the types of evidence usually used in various academic disciplines (e.g. literary studies, social history, economics). Some evidence is mainly quantitative (statistical) and some mainly qualitative (images, values, attitudes, meanings derived from literature, journalism, folklore, diaries). We can also draw a distinction between evidence which is 'formal' (collected and reconstructed according to the careful methods of an academic discipline) and evidence which is 'informal' (derived from personal impressions, or assumptions concerning 'common' opinion). If reliance on different types of evidence may lead to different conclusions in one's enquiries, it is important to become aware of these different forms of evidence and the ways they are incorporated in different approaches to a topic such as national identity and social change.

2.3 Capital cities and their hinterlands

The fact that so many Australians have been urban dwellers for several generations does not resolve the question of whether there is a distinctive 'urban' mentality (or a distinctive 'rural' mentality) shared by most Australians. If it was possible to detect a clear set of 'urban attitudes', in contrast with a clear set of 'rural attitudes', wouldn't you expect residents of London and Glasgow to have the same attitudes as residents of Brisbane and Sydney? And wouldn't farm workers in the Australian outback have similar 'rural attitudes' to those of their counterparts in Canada and Ireland? You will recall Raymond Williams's discussion of the ways in which literary representations of the city/country may tend to blur or transcend the actual social differences and characteristics of rural and urban life.

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Many historians and social scientists argue, on the contrary, that different societies have historical differences in values, behaviour, lifestyle, temperament, national self-image, institutions, traditions, and so on. In other words, they would deny that there is a 'city mould' which stamps all city dwellers throughout the world in the same image. In the same way, they would deny there is any universal 'rural mould'.

However, the diversity of urban, and of rural, experience applies not only between societies, but also within each society. As you will recall from Gerald Wilkes's article in the previous course, rural society is not a homogeneous or uniform whole, but is divided into social and economic groups (social classes, genders, ethnic communities, etc.). In the same way, urban society is also fragmented and diverse, as we will see in our study of Brisbane in part 5 of the course. A city is not merely a geographical map, but also a socio-economic map, sketched according to differences in social classes, types of housing, access to facilities and services, etc. Moreover, as Ward and Barrett have both suggested, there have been important channels of influence between the country and city, such that rural attitudes may be predominant in certain historical periods while urban attitudes may be predominant in other (later?) periods. The dividing line between city and country is also blurred by suburban sprawl and hobby farms on the outskirts of large cities.

For all these reasons, we should beware of making hasty generalisations about city attitudes and behaviour, or suburban attitudes and behaviour, or about country attitudes and behaviour, or about the relationships between the city and country. In our discussion of urban Australia in this course, we should recognise, firstly, that urban experience can be quite diverse; and secondly, that the urban aspects of Australian experience can be understood most completely by comparisons both with rural experience and with overseas societies. (In this course, however, we have neither the time nor the materials for systematic overseas comparisons. It is therefore worth bearing in mind this limitation on our understanding of Australian cities. International comparisons will be undertaken in later areas of study in this programme.)

One writer who has tried to place Australian cities in the context of urban/rural relationships (and also in an international context) is John McCarty, whose work you will encounter in reading 2. McCarty is concerned to suggest reasons why the major cities in Australia (especially the six capital cities of the colonies) rapidly developed a position of dominance over the economic region (or hinterland) they serviced. (The concept of 'dominance' here refers to the concentration of economic resources and services - including population, administration, finance, commerce, trade, industry - in a particular city, instead of there being a more even distribution of such resources and services throughout a region.)

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In the first few pages of his article (omitted from your excerpt), McCarty laments the lack of attention given to our cities by social, economic and literary historians. He notes that in 1901 the six capital cities held one third of the Australian population; they were also the 'points of entry and of permanent residence for most immigrants' and the 'centres of government and of colonial trade, finance and transport'.

McCarty claims that there should be a fundamental difference of approach between (1) studying a relatively self-contained rural township (where an inward focus on the unique features of that community can provide an appropriate set of themes for the urban historian), and (2) studying a large city (where an outward comparative focus is more appropriate). McCarty believes that cities are key centres or linkages in a wider network of activities, and that it is necessary to study the relationships among cities (and city/country relationships) within the wider framework of national and even international economic history.

What kind of economy, and what kind of city, were found in the Australian colonies in the late-nineteenth century? McCarty claims that Australian economic history has been very similar in important respects to that of other 'regions of recent settlement', such as Canada, the United States, New Zealand and Argentina. The economic histories of these nations have been parallel because they had similar kinds of natural resources, and because their main function in the British empire and in the wider international economy was to export their surplus of primary products. The rural hinterlands served by each city were different, thus giving diverse social and economic characteristics to the cities themselves. Nonetheless, these cities in Australia and other 'regions of recent settlement' were basically similar because they all had the role of 'linking the hinterlands to world markets'.

McCarty proceeds to distinguish between three different types of cities which could be found in the Western world in the late-nineteenth century. First, there are the traditional cities of Europe founded many centuries ago. Their early patterns of geographical and institutional development continued to influence their later directions of growth, which may be seen largely as efforts to transform or demolish the legacy of the past. Such cities only gradually emerged from a position of inferiority to the rural power structure (in medieval times). However, with the growth of trade and industry and commercial forms of farming, 'the positions of country and city were reversed', with cities attaining dominance.

The second type of Western city, according to McCarty, is the manufacturing city, created to a large extent by the industrial revolution. In such cities, the new dominant industries are the cause of urbanisation, and they largely determine the city's rate of growth and its socio-economic structure.

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Australian capital cities, according to McCarty, fit into the third type of Western city, the commercial city. They are 'pure products of the nineteenth-century expansion of capitalism', rather than products of industrialisation, and were most important initially as centres of trade, finance and administration.

The main features of 'commercial cities' are described by McCarty in reading 2. Read the first page very carefully - two or three times if necessary - and then continue through to the end.

****

Read John McCarty, 'Australian capital cities in the nineteenth century' (excerpts), reading 2, and briefly answer the questions below.

****

SAQ 2

1. To what extent was manufacturing the most important industry in stimulating the growth of Australian capital cities in the nineteenth century? (20 words)

2. McCarty claims that 'commercial cities' established in the nineteenth century immediately gained 'an important and often dominant role in the new region'. But McCarty denies that such a pattern of city dominance is inevitable in every case. Why? (20 words)

3. McCarty claims that commercial cities are typically 'primate' in relation to their neighbouring towns. What does this mean? Give examples from McCarty's text.

4. McCarty claims that 'the historical geography of the commercial cities' may be divided into stages of development defined by 'their size in relation to the available means of transport'. (a) What are those stages? (b) How did they affect the location of 'rich' and 'poor' suburbs?

5. How does McCarty explain the 'rural' content of the social myths created by city dwellers?

6. What are the main reasons given by McCarty, towards the end of reading 2, for the different abilities of the Australian capital cities to achieve dominance in relation to the countryside and to provincial cities?

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McCarty's article has raised two themes which will be developed later in this course - the economic reasons for urban growth (and for urban dominance over the country), and the division of a city into a mosaic of suburbs which can be distinguished according to types of economic activity (industrial, commercial, residential) and socio-economic class (working class, middle class, etc.): we will focus on the issue of suburbs and classes in section 5 of this course. McCarty also insists on the importance of comparative historical analysis. This methodological approach is shared by many twentieth-century social scientists, and is therefore worth drawing to your attention even though we cannot discuss it further in this course. (It will be very important in later years of study in this programme.)

2.4 Social change since 1939

A number of social scientists have argued that, even though Australia's level of urbanisation was substantial by the early years of the twentieth century, the contours of modern Australia - as an 'affluent, urban, industrial country' - were laid in the decades after 1939. This was the claim presented (in reading 3) by Professor Sol Encel, in his 1971 Boyer Lectures on *A Changing Australia*.

Encel argued that the Australian economy was largely reliant on rural industries before World War II, manufacturing was small-scale, the federal government was less important in most respects than state governments, and educational levels were low. During the war, however, and in the immediate post-war years, there were rapid changes in political, economic and social affairs. The 1940s, according to Encel, were a transitional decade for Australia between its existence as a small sleepy society and as an advanced industrial society similar in many respects to other advanced Western capitalist societies.

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Read Sol Encel, *A Changing Australia, 1939-1971* (excerpts), reading 3, and answer the questions on the following page.

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SAQ 3

1. Make a list of the key areas of change identified by the author. You may like to make a list of key words under a few general headings: e.g. (a) economic, (b) political and administrative, (c) social and cultural.

2. Can you think of any important changes, for the years 1939-84, which Encel has not mentioned?

The purpose of the above exercise is to provide a general understanding of the main directions of social change in modern (post-war) urban Australia, as a background for analysing our current images of Australian identity and as a context for understanding the main features of urban and suburban life. These themes are now developed further in the following sections.

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3 CITIES AND SUBURBS IN AUSTRALIA

3.1 Images of urban and suburban life

It is a commonplace observation that most Australians live in a small number of large cities. During the last hundred years, Australian cities have gained an increasing percentage of the national population, and the proportion of rural dwellers has fallen in recent years to about one in every seven Australians. In the 1970s, nearly 70 per cent of the Australian population lived in the 11 cities which had a population exceeding 100,000 people. (Just for your own interest, you can find some recent figures on Australian urban population, and some international comparisons, on pp.8-9, 32-3 of William Coppell, *Australia in Figures*. The facts of urbanisation, however, do not enable us to predict the major themes of our national self-images; e.g. the level of urbanisation will not tell us whether our cultural stereotypes are predominantly rural, urban or suburban. How are these images formed and why do they change?

You will recall from your reading in previous courses that the rapid development of industrialism and urbanisation in Western Europe and America in the nineteenth century prompted social theorists to suggest a clear division between city and country life. The traditional self-contained forms of rural life (on farms and in villages) were contrasted with the anonymity and de-personalised aspects of the city, whose population largely consisted of recent arrivals from either the rural areas or from overseas. This contrast was usually favourable towards rural life and critical of city life, as we find in the Australian bush myth.

In many Western societies, rural life was idealised in various ways: as the source of moral virtue; as the location of peace and harmony; as the place where individuals found their true identity in the web of kinship, parochial loyalties and 'natural' routines. The city, by contrast, was depicted as essentially callous and soulless, full of corruption, vice and poverty, where individuals lost their social identity and conflict replaced cooperation. Rural life was seen as based on community, in which people were familiar on a face-to-face basis with their neighbours, traditions and customs were important, and everyone knew his or her place (or 'role') in the community. (Concepts of community are explored in various ways in Course HP03a, *Community and Control*.) The process of urbanisation, in which there was a rapid growth of urban population and growing economic dominance of cities over the countryside, was seen as the destruction of 'community' in this sense. The city was thought to be based not on tradition, custom, and face-to-face relations, but on money, contract, calculation of material interest, competition for power, and class conflict. The city was also seen by some cultural critics as the triumph of organised 'mass society'

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which threatened to destroy 'high' culture (a theme developed in Course HP04a, *Cultural Formations*).

It should be clear from your reading of Ward's *The Australian Legend* that many elements of the contrast between country and city life were widely accepted in nineteenth century Australia. Indeed, some of the common assumptions about the differences between city and country have not entirely disappeared in recent decades. In Queensland, the belief that country life was morally superior - or preferable for various other reasons - to city life was very strongly entrenched among state governments (both non-Labor and Labor) until World War II and even since then. The 'closer settlement' schemes throughout Australia (for re-settling ex-servicemen and their families on small farms) in the 1920s, and to a lesser extent in the 1940s, were good examples of this. Perhaps the concept of 'northern development', advocated for most of this century so far, also contains an element of this style of thinking. You might like to pause a moment to think of some other examples, especially in Queensland whose state government since 1957 has been dominated by the Country (National) Party, and whose premiers in the twentieth century have come almost entirely from electorates outside the capital city.

Let us return to our theme of the main features - and diverse images - of urban life. We have seen that one way of understanding the city was to establish a set of contrasts between a rural community and a conflict-ridden, materialistic and anonymous urban conglomeration. Some other writers reversed the value judgements contained in that contrast, by claiming instead that rural life was characterised by oppressive conformity and dull routine whereas city life opened up a multitude of possibilities for individuality, freedom and creativity. In other words, it was possible to be different, to be one's self, to be bohemian, or to enjoy an exposure to a wide variety of cultural influences (cosmopolitanism). The large cities, in this view, were the only places where an individualistic and creative intelligentsia could feel 'at home'. The larger the city, the more likely the achievement of desirable levels of excellence in a wide variety of fields.

The artists and writers who celebrated the individualism and cosmopolitanism of large-city culture were less impressed, however, by the residential outer suburbs, which were sometimes planned as garden suburbs ambiguously placed between 'city' and 'country'. Critics developed a strong attack on suburbia, depicting the suburban life as materialistic, conformist, mindless and oppressive. (We will look at some Australian images of suburbia in section 3.3, below.) In our next readings, we will examine some of the writings of social scientists - in this case, urban sociologists - who have focussed on the differences between inner and outer urban areas, and on the inequalities between urban areas.

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We saw earlier that rural society was often described by some writers as based on face-to-face relationships, with strong ties of kinship, locality and tradition. Urban sociologists attempted to draw a picture of the main features of urban society, by way of contrast. One of the best known accounts is Louis Wirth's essay called 'Urbanism as a way of life', published in 1938. Wirth's essay has been briefly summarised by David Thorns in reading 4, 'Louis Wirth's concept of urbanism'. This is included mainly for your own interest. Read it quickly, using a dictionary to check the meaning of terms like 'heterogeneity' (diversity).

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Read David Thorns, 'Louis Wirth's concept of urbanism', reading 4.

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You will have noted from this summary that the image of urban life in Wirth's description is rather unflattering - anonymity, segregation of social groups, standardisation and formalisation - though these negative features are balanced to some extent by the fact that diverse group interests have scope to flourish. Wirth's ideas were derived mainly from studying the inner areas of large cities in North America: he did not specifically discuss the character of outer suburbs, or 'suburbia', a theme which has occupied the attention of many later writers.

Popular images of 'suburbia' have pictured the households in new outer-residential suburbs in large cities as consisting predominantly of married couples with children. These householders are usually buying their own homes and are thus usually said to be 'middle-class' in income and aspirations. In large cities the breadwinner often has to commute long distances to work, perhaps to the city centre.

In reality, however, outer suburbs are not all the same. They may differ as much among themselves as the outer suburbs differ from the inner suburbs. For example, they differ according to physical characteristics (degree of town planning, population density, relation to rural and other urban areas), social characteristics (welfare housing, ethnic origins and social class of residents), and economic characteristics (proximity to particular industries, transport networks, predominance of residential over industrial areas).

Popular images of 'suburbia', however, have stressed homogeneity, conformism, conservatism, family orientation, and materialism as features of a uniform suburban lifestyle. These images of 'suburbia' have become widespread in most Western industrial societies since World War II. In reading 5, Dennis Wrong discusses American writings on 'suburbia' during the 1950s and 1960s. He describes the common image

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of suburbia as a 'myth', and contrasts it with some of the empirical findings of urban sociologists.

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Read Dennis Wrong, 'Suburbs and myths of suburbia' (excerpts), reading 5, and answer the questions below.

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In reading this excerpt, it is necessary to remember the American context of the discussion. Some of the political history may need explanation. For example, Eisenhower was the U.S. President from 1952-1960. He was a Republican (conservative), and was succeeded by Democratic presidents J.F. Kennedy and L.B. Johnson in the 1960s. (There is no U.S. equivalent of the Australian Labor Party: the U.S. Democratic Party is liberal rather than labour in outlook, but it attracts the support of most lower-class voters and of many ethnic minorities.) The Eisenhower period in the United States was in many ways similar to the Menzies period in Australia.

SAQ 4

1. What, according to Dennis Wrong, were the main features attributed to the 'suburban lifestyle' in the 1950s? (See first 4 paragraphs) (20 words).

2. What factors in the 1960s caused writers to overturn their tendency to identify a comfortable suburbia with the American way of life?

3. Find a paragraph where Wrong summarises the findings of four sociological studies which tend to 'disprove' the main features of the 'myth of suburbia'. List the main features of the 'myth' which are said to be 'disproved' by these four studies.

Dennis Wrong, like Glynn (reading 1), believes that 'myths' can be disproved by empirical evidence. However, we might prefer to say that myths - whether bush, city, or suburban myths - tend to have an existence independent of the criticisms of social scientists and other writers. Many of the features attributed to 'suburbia' in the United States and Britain have also been attributed to Australian suburban life, and perhaps erroneously in each case. But the stereotype of suburbia continues to exert a powerful influence on common thinking about Australian society and culture.

One of the issues arising from the research of urban sociologists is the question of whether social class

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(defined by occupation and income) has more effect upon people's attitudes and behaviour than does their suburb of residence. Recent research suggests that it is not so much where people live that is important, as what they are in the workforce. It is not the location and type of housing, but the socio-economic experience of people that mainly shapes their values. The key element in the inter-relationship between class and suburb for most people is that their choice of where to live is constrained by socio-economic factors. This point is developed briefly in the next reading.

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Read David Thorns, 'Suburbia: myth or reality?' (excerpts), reading 6.

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After reviewing numerous American and British studies of particular suburban areas, Thorns concludes his book by stating that the social class of residents seems to explain more about suburban life than do the physical differences among various types of residential location.

We will conclude this discussion of the images of urban and suburban life by recalling some of the points noted in passing. (a) Cities are divided in complex ways on the basis of physical geography, economic activities (e.g. industries), and the social class of residents. (b) There are important differences between 'inner' and 'outer' suburbs, but it is difficult to generalise about either an inner-city lifestyle or an outer-suburban lifestyle. (c) Just as conceptions of the countryside have changed, so have conceptions of the city: both have been alternately idealised and criticised. (d) Most Australians live in the suburbs of large cities, so the debate about suburban life has (or should have) a special relevance for Australians.

Before examining Australian images of suburbia, it is first necessary to introduce some social-science discussions of the forms of inequality generated within our cities and suburbs. We noted earlier that a city can be understood not only in terms of a geographical map but also in terms of a socio-economic map. What does this mean?

3.2 Suburban inequalities

Professor Leonie Sandercock, an urban sociologist at Macquarie University, has argued (1975, p.2) that inequalities are entrenched, and even exacerbated, by the patterns of urban development found in Australian cities. The following quotation is taken from her book (as is reading 7) *Cities for Sale: Property, Politics and Urban Planning in Australia.*

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> Urban growth does have significant effects on income distribution, whether deliberate or accidental. If we define 'real income' as command over resources, it is clear that real income is a function of locational accessibility - how close you live to employment opportunities, schools, beaches, welfare services. Access to these can only be obtained at a cost - the cost of overcoming distance, using time, or of buying housing in accessible locations. Poorer households have a very limited choice of locations. As the spatial form of a city is changed (by developing or relocating housing, transport routes, employment, sources of pollution), so also is the cost of access to different things for a household at a given location and hence both the distribution of real income and property values in different locations. Some services are located by public action (for example, educational and health services, open spaces), others by private enterprise. The redistributive aspect of general governmental functions is therefore far from trivial, and increases with city size. No matter who the decision-maker, the very act of locational choice has distributional significance, and since the location of public services could be an important means of income distribution in our economy, more attention ought to be paid to the policies that govern decisions about the location of jobs, services and amenities.

Sandercock is here making some simple but important points: a household may be judged to be advantaged or disadvantaged not only in terms of income (e.g. a weekly wage) but also in terms of access to services and facilities (e.g. schools, shops, parks, beaches), and in terms of employment opportunities, cost of housing, availability of public transport, absence of pollution, and other environmental factors. Decisions are continually taken by local government, state government departments, and private developers on such matters as the location of factories and office blocks, or the extension of roads, sewerage, telecommunications, and welfare services. All such decisions affect the 'quality of life' of at least some sections of the population.

We are familiar with the real estate market (which regulates the price, supply and location of land and housing); it is a mechanism which allocates poorer families to a limited choice of suburbs, and ensures that only the rich can afford to live in certain prestigious and well-equipped suburbs. We are also familiar with changing patterns of residential land use, already mentioned in the McCarty article: the suburban sprawl, the changing nature of the inner-city area, and in recent years the twin processes of slum clearance ('urban renewal') and the 'renovation' of old, inner, working-class suburbs by the new middle class ('gentrification').

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The attractiveness of living in spacious outer suburbs may be balanced by higher travel costs and lack of community services. It may be cheaper initially to buy a house in a new estate on the urban fringe, but the standard of local services may be inferior. The 'quality of life' of a household depends on more than having an adequate house, land, and income. Access to employment, services and facilities is also important. Outer suburban dwellers are also very likely to have young children and high mortgage payments. For such reasons, the political preferences of outer-suburban voters are often seen as more changeable than those of voters in the 'established' inner suburbs, whether working-class or middle-class.

Sandercock points out that the patterns of urban growth are a product of two major factors: (a) capitalist investment in industrial and commercial sites, residential estates, and speculative development of inner-city and urban fringe areas; (b) government planning and regulation of land-use (zoning requirements, building codes, transport networks) and public housing policies. These two forces, private capital and public regulation, sometimes are in conflict and sometimes in harmony. As a critic of our history of urban inequalities, Sandercock advocates a stronger role for governments (municipal, state and federal) in producing better planned and more equitable cities. These arguments are developed in the conclusions of her book, *Cities for Sale*, an excerpt of which is presented as reading 7.

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Read Leonie Sandercock, 'Planning in a property-owning democracy' (excerpts), reading 7, and answer the questions below.

****

SAQ 5

1. Why does Sandercock criticise the town planners of the decades before 1970?

2. Sandercock sympathises with the 'political' planners of the post 1970 period. Why does she believe that greater public intervention in urban development is necessary?

Sandercock's writings have emphasised the various connections between urban growth, private profits, government regulation, and suburban inequalities. These inequalities may be less noticeable during times of general affluence and economic expansion. But during times of

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economic depression, the standard of living and quality of life enjoyed by residents in the poorer suburbs may be dramatically worsened.

In reading 8, Frank Stilwell, an economist at the University of Sydney, discusses the uneven impact of the current economic depression on different sectors of large cities (especially Sydney). Although written in 1979, Stilwell's analysis is still relevant in the mid-1980s. He notes that employment has been cut more severely in some industries than in others - this in turn has an uneven impact on suburbs and regions where those forms of industrial employment tend to be located. Moreover, unemployment tends to be concentrated more heavily among the lower half of the occupational structure. Thus the economic depression tends to make the poor poorer, while the upper half of the occupational structure is relatively sheltered from direct hardship. Stilwell also suggests that the economic depression has hastened the introduction of new technologies, which may further aggravate the level of unemployment. He offers some general explanations for why the decline of employment in manufacturing industry is not easily reversed: the role of foreign investment is crucial here.

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Read Frank Stilwell, 'The current economic depression and its impact on Australian cities', reading 8, and answer the questions below.

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SAQ 6

1. Summarise, in about 50 words, Stilwell's argument (on the first page of the article) concerning the uneven rates (or incidence) of unemployment among different socio-economic classes and suburbs.

2. In the section entitled 'International capital flows', what reason does Stilwell give for the relative decline of foreign investment in Australian manufacturing industries since the late 1960s?

3. What is the effect on employment levels of this decline in manufacturing investment?

4. In the final paragraph of the article, Stilwell lists four consequences of the uneven impact of the depression (economic, social, psychological and political). Under these four headings, make short lists giving details of these consequences.

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In the light of these arguments by social scientists about the nature and causes of urban inequalities, you may find some surprises in the following readings, which outline certain popular images of Australian suburbia over recent decades.

3.3 Australian images of suburbia

Most of the 'images' of Australian society and culture presented in this and previous courses have been drawn from the writings of what Richard White called the intelligentsia - 'writers, artists, journalists, historians, critics'. Several of the readings in previous courses have stressed the role of urban intellectuals in shaping the terms of the debate on national character, and the changes which such images have undergone from one decade or one generation to the next.

One of the themes we have encountered is that our common conceptions of Australian society act as 'filters' for our experience - highlighting certain aspects, ignoring some others and cloaking yet others in a soft warm haze that resists cold analysis. These common conceptions and myths are not fixed forever. They change over time, partly in response to changing social and economic developments and partly in response to currents of ideas among intellectuals both in Australia and overseas.

You will recall Richard White's claim that by 1950 the conception of an 'Australian way of life' had emerged; it was an urban image of Australia, which largely displaced the earlier conceptions of a distinctive national 'type' (*Inventing Australia*, chapter 10). The notion of a 'way of life' shared by all Australians can be seen also as a conservative social myth, for it assumed the existence of an integrated homogeneous society which had to be defended both from social and cultural change or diversity (via immigration), and from internal and external political challenge (via communism). For our purposes, however, the important task is to examine White's argument that the major image of Australia after 1950 was increasingly modelled on the United States, especially the image of Australia as a 'sophisticated, urban, industrialised, consumer society' (White, p.161).

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Re-read chapter 10 of Richard White, *Inventing Australia*, paying special attention to pp.161-5, and answer the questions on the following page.

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SAQ 7

1. According to White, the new image of Australia as a modern urban society suited the needs of at least one powerful economic group. Which group was this?

2. According to White, what features of 'suburbia' were idealised in the 1950s through the conception of an 'Australian way of life'?

3. What was the role of suburban women as portrayed in the 'Australian way of life'?

The urban and suburban character of Australian life finally found recognition, then, in the post-war period. The 'ideal' of suburbia, as described by Richard White, was shaped by a conservative economic and political context. Suburbia was not universally celebrated, however, by Australian intellectuals. Donald Horne, himself a well-known social and political writer, points out (in reading 9) that many writers have tended to 'ignore' or to 'condemn' suburban life rather than 'discover what it is'. Suburbanism, says Horne, is likely to be 'the target' of criticism from almost all groups of Australian intellectuals. Horne's views are summarised briefly in reading 9, which is an excerpt from his book *The Lucky Country* (1964). Horne's style of argument is informal and impressionistic rather than systematic and academic: it does not rely on abundant evidence and precise usage of concepts. Nevertheless, Horne does make use of certain forms of evidence in attempting to establish his argument: primarily, he draws on the general knowledge of an educated observer, but with a journalist's eye for a colourful phrase or a striking image.

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Read Donald Horne, 'The first suburban nation' (excerpt), reading 9, and answer the questions on the following page.

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SAQ 8

1. In the first two paragraphs, Horne criticises several groups of Australian intellectuals. (a) What is his general criticism of all these groups? (b) Which four groups are particularly singled out by Horne for criticism?

2. In the third paragraph, Horne emphasises the 'essentially suburban' character of Australian life by contrast both with rural life and with inner-urban life. (a) What features of suburbia are mentioned by Horne in this paragraph? (b) Why, according to Horne, has the suburban character of Australia not been properly recognised?

3. In the fourth and fifth paragraphs, Horne 'sympathetically' describes the main values and features of Australian suburban life. Find a sentence where Horne denies that suburban life is dull and monotonous.

4. In the last paragraph of this extract, what items of evidence does Horne put forward to support his view that the traditional, tough, masculine 'macho' working class is no longer representative of Australian (suburban) society?

Horne, writing in 1964, lamented the incapacity or unwillingness of Australian intellectuals - writers, journalists, etc. - to face up to the suburban character of Australian life. In the two decades since then, it is probably true to say that the suburban nature of their society has become clearer to most Australians, including intellectuals. This recognition was partly reflected in the greater attention given to urban development and urban problems by the Whitlam Labor government of 1972-1975, a government which drew many of its ideas about 'urban renewal' and community services from urban sociologists working in Australian universities. Among these urban social theorists is Leonie Sandercock, whose work you have already read in this course. Another is Hugh Stretton, whose book *Ideas for Australian Cities* (1970) was cited favourably by Sandercock in reading 7, but is criticised by Tim Rowse at the end of reading 10.

Tim Rowse's article, 'Australian critics on suburbia' (1979), is a critical discussion of Australian images of suburbia in the twentieth century. This reading is more theoretically complex than most of the previous readings. It makes use of certain concepts such as 'social classes' which we have already met, but other concepts such as 'ideology' and 'capitalism' require a short explanation at this point.

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Capitalism, for Rowse, is an economic and social system in which (a) production is undertaken for the profit of the owners and controllers of productive enterprises (the capitalist class), while (b) most of the workforce consists of wage and salary earners who have little control over economic resources. Large investors and senior management, in this view, effectively control the patterns and directions of economic life: or, in a different terminology, the capitalist class is the economically dominant class. Its economic power is to some extent modified by the policies of governments, which may be influenced by wage and salary earners (working-class and middle-class voters) in a democratic political system (such as Australia).

Ideology, for Rowse, is a concept similar in some respects to the concept of a social 'myth' which we have met in the early courses in this programme. An ideology, in the first instance, is a set of social/political/economic/cultural ideas and values. Secondly, in the writings of many social critics, the term is often used to imply that the ideas are in some way one-sided and incomplete, either because of the social class of the ideologist, or because of the sectional interests served by the ideology. (It is therefore common to make a contrast between ideology and science, the latter being seen as more objective and based on careful use of evidence.)

In reading the article by Rowse, it will help to be aware of five sections of the argument.

1. Introduction (first 2 pages): a distinction is drawn between the clear facts of suburban life, and a certain ideology of suburbia (this ideology has developed in three stages in twentieth-century Australia).

2. The first stage in suburban ideology was typified by the writings of Vance and Nettie Palmer, Louis Esson, W.K. Hancock, and F.W. Eggleston ('The Suburban Home is a Horror').

3. The second stage was typified by the writings of Robin Boyd, Barry Humphries, Donald Horne, and Craig McGregor ('No Flies on the Nature Strip').

4. The third stage was typified by the Whitlam Labor government and by Hugh Stretton ('Green Thumbs Up').

5. Conclusion (last page of text): summary and overview of the arguments, claiming that the ideology of suburbia is conservative.

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Read Tim Rowse, 'Australian critics on suburbia', reading 10, and answer the questions below.

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SAQ 9

1. What are Rowse's three major criticisms of using 'suburbia' as a 'summary image and ... explanation of Australia'? (See 'three related themes': Rowse, R10:2.)

2. Do you agree with Rowse's view that any attempt to establish the identity of Australia through a focus on the themes of 'suburbia' diverts attention away from the important areas of work, industry, and politics? Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement. (20 words)

3. Summarise in your own words why Rowse regards the suburban portraits drawn by Humphries, Horne and McGregor as limited and conservative. (20 words each)

Rowse assumes that 'the world of work, industrial conflict, politics and collective action' has a more important place in shaping a society than the world of domestic life and recreation activities, although the two spheres are joined in important ways. The organisation of work, and its relationship to social classes, will be examined in Course HP05a, *Work in History*, and will not be discussed further here. Work and home are inter-related, the domestic sphere being seen by Rowse as providing those supportive services necessary for the maintenance of the workforce and their families. Rowse is critical of the division of labour between full-time paid work outside the home (mainly male) and full-time unpaid domestic work (mainly female), a division which he believes is tied to the present forms of suburban life in a capitalist society. (Questions of women's work, both paid and unpaid, are examined in Course HP05b, *Work in Australia*.) Rowse believes that unless the division of labour 'between workers and owners, and between men and women' is fundamentally changed (i.e., more equality), then even the most comfortable or 'ideal' form of the suburban dream will remain a 'gilded cage'.

Rowse thus establishes his own position as a 'socialist' critic of suburbia, a position distinct from the three groups of writers he discusses in his article. One of his key themes is the importance of 'ethnic and class differences that are recreated daily in the context of work and reinforced by government policies'.

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These social divisions are also one of the keys to understanding how a large city operates: how economic activity is organised, where social classes are residentially located, and how community services and facilities are distributed. This will be the theme of the fourth and fifth parts of this course.

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4 USING EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

4.1 Predictions, probabilities and contexts

Consideration of the debate concerning the Ward thesis has suggested the need for caution in accepting empirical evidence at face value. We all tend to be 'carried away' by a series of striking statements about 'the facts' of a situation. In this section, we will analyse and criticise a piece of writing which is apparently based on empirical evidence. This critical analysis is designed to show that it is necessary to look for the structure of an argument that underlies an array of 'facts', and to examine the types of evidence used to support the argument.

Writing in 1970, Alvin Toffler, the American author of *Future Shock*, listed numerous areas in which our daily lives are speeding up, so that everything seems to be getting bigger, faster, and so forth. Toffler's theme was that the pace of change is so rapid that few of us can visualise or adapt to the future. We will consider a few of his examples: the rapid pace of changes in urbanisation, energy consumption, and economic production. These examples are presented in reading 11. As you read, pay particular attention to the way in which Toffler uses empirical evidence to establish trends towards ever-increasing rates of change in social and economic life.

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Read Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (excerpts), reading 11.

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Commentary

In Toffler's first example (the rapid increase in urban populations) some dramatic figures are presented: the world's urban population is doubling every 11 years, the number of large cities (over 1,000,000 people) increased from 19 in 1900 to 141 in 1960. Such figures are used by Toffler to illustrate his general theme that the pace of change is accelerating in the twentieth century. Science and technology have made possible those advances in medicine, communications, food production, etc. which are necessary to sustain a booming rate of population growth.

In Toffler's second example, the use of fuels has correspondingly increased: the rate of energy consumption has increased 10 times in the last century or so. Another calculation shows that, of the total global energy consumption in the last twenty centuries, about half has been consumed in the most recent century.

In Toffler's third example, the most advanced industrial nations are said to be increasing their economic output at a

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rapid rate; moreover, says Toffler, 'the rate of increase is itself increasing'. Thus, total output in these advanced nations is doubling every 15 years, and 'the doubling times are shrinking'. Toffler concludes that by the time a teenager in 1970 reaches the age of 70 years the level of economic output will equal 32 times the output produced in the year that person was born.

These are staggering figures, designed to shock and challenge our settled expectations. Toffler's argument, however, is entirely built on the assumption that the fast rates of growth achieved in the decades up to 1970 (when the book was published) will continue at an even faster pace. Having established a certain tendency (e.g. a rate of growth), Toffler simply projects that tendency into the future.

However, the evidence on which the argument is based is entirely an account of past tendencies: there cannot be any guarantee that these will continue into the future. For example, the energy crisis of the 1970s brought about a new concern with energy conservation and environmental protection; and the rate of energy usage actually levelled off instead of increasing at an ever more rapid pace. In the same way, the economic growth of the advanced Western nations levelled off - and in some cases went into reverse - just a few years after the book was written. Urbanisation at a global level continues to increase, but the rate of growth is relatively slow in the large cities of the West (including Australian cities) and is most rapid in Third World nations which are in transition from agricultural to semi-industrial economies.

Toffler's dramatic analysis suffers from two related weaknesses:

1. He makes the mistake of assuming that future events are determined by present tendencies: in this case Toffler's mistake is to assume 'exponential' growth.

2. He fails to provide an explanation of the conditions which make possible the central 'facts' of his analysis, i.e., the conditions which facilitate and sustain a rapid rate of growth and technical sophistication. These conditions (whether pre-conditions, enabling conditions, or sustaining conditions) include the continuous availability of abundant supplies of cheap energy, the continuation of high levels of investment, and public support for unrestrained 'development'. An energy crisis or a global depression is enough to undermine Toffler's whole argument. With the hindsight available to us in the 1980s, it now appears that the period of increased material prosperity between 1945 and 1970 was an 'exceptional' rather than a 'normal' stage in our history.

This critique of Toffler should make us aware that a set of empirical information does not lead automatically to a

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particular conclusion. It is always necessary to select the information (data) from which to construct an argument; to examine the adequacy of the data (is it reliable? is it representative? what does it omit?); and to draw valid inferences or conclusions from the data.

Facts do not speak for themselves. They have to be selected, arranged, and interpreted by the enquirer. Moreover, we find that 'facts' are often used to illustrate an already-formed argument (to give it more plausibility and substance); we do not find that the facts generate a scund argument on their own.

Attempting to discover the 'causes' of events, and the 'reasons' for actions, is especially difficult. In most cases, we can never be certain that the complex chain of causes and effects has been fully understood. We are constantly obliged to decide which points of evidence, and which relationships, are likely to be more significant than others.

There are additional problems in ensuring that we fully understand the attitudes and motives of the participants in the events under consideration. And where, as with images of national identity, we are dealing with questions of the origins and influence of diverse currents of ideas, our conclusions are more likely to be merely 'plausible' than 'scientific'.

Empirical evidence can help to support certain arguments, or help to question others, but ultimately it cannot guarantee that a single correct conclusion can be reached in an area of study like images of national character. The level of certainty in the human sciences is relatively low, and the importance of myths and ideologies is relatively high.

In the humanities and social sciences, we cannot arrive at absolute certainties, we can only hope to attain high probabilities. Thus, if we venture into predictions of future events, our predictions should always be highly provisional, conditional and contextual (e.g. tendency x is likely to continue, providing that A, B and C also continue and z does not intervene).

In the examples used in the following section, we will be concerned to understand or interpret simple tables of statistical data, and consider what inferences or conclusions can be properly supported by the information in the tables.

4.2 Reading statistical tables (I)

In this section, we will work through some tables of information on the population patterns (demography) of urban Australia, with some overseas comparisons for good measure.

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SAQ 10

Look carefully at the table on Australian capital city populations in Willam Coppell, *Australia in Figures*, p.33, and briefly answer the questions below.

1. Apart from Canberra, which capital city had the highest proportion of its state population in 1980? Which capital city had the lowest proportion of state population in 1980?

2. Apart from Canberra, which capital - according to the estimated figures for the year 2000 - is likely to have the highest proportion of state population?

3. Confining your attention solely to the information in this table, would it be possible to 'prove' that the proportion of Australians living in the capital cities will continue to increase? What additional types of information would you need to know to give a reasonable estimate of whether city populations will increase at present rates? (Some ideas may be obtained from McCarty, reading 2.)

4. Confining your attention solely to the information in this table, is it possible to understand why the Brisbane population is unlikely to reach 50 per cent of the Queensland population in the present century? What additional types of information would you need for understanding the relatively low level of capital city urbanisation in Queensland?

The last two questions in SAQ 10 should alert us to the difference between detecting a trend or pattern in a table of figures, and being able to give explanations or reasons for that pattern. Explanations almost always require that we use additional evidence, evidence beyond that provided in the table.

Now turn to the table on international comparisons of urban and rural populations, in William Coppell, *Australia in Figures*, p.9. There are three types of comparison, corresponding to the three vertical columns. The first column compares the average rate of population growth in 15 nations during the period 1970-77: the figures refer to the average ('mean') annual increase in population. The second column compares the same nations in terms of population density (average number of residents per square kilometre) in the year 1977. The third column compares 11 nations in terms of the proportion of urban versus rural population.

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SAQ 11

Study the table in Coppell, *Australia in Figures*, p.9. Read very carefully each of the following statements, and check the answer (true/false/can't say) you consider is the most accurate. In the case of a 'can't say' answer, give a reason for your choice of this answer. In considering your answer, you should confine your attention solely to the information in the table, and not rely on previous knowledge or guesswork.

	True	False	Can't say - need more information
(a) In column 1:			
1. Australia had a higher rate of population increase in 1974 than did New Zealand.			
2. Of the 15 nations listed, Australia's rate of population growth was relatively high in the period 1970-77.			
3. The U.K. had the world's lowest rate of population growth in the period 1970-77.			
(b) In column 2:			
4. Japan has a larger population than the U.S.A.			
5. Japan has a lot of big cities, whereas Australia has only a few big cities.			
6. Cities in Mauritius are the most over-crowded in the world.			
(c) In column 3:			
7. Of the 11 nations listed, Australia has the highest proportion of urban dwellers and the lowest proportion of rural dwellers.			
8. Of the 11 nations listed, Tanzania has the highest proportion of rural residents.			
9. At least one of the percentage figures given for Cuba is wrong.			

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If you had problems in deciding whether statements 1, 4 and 5 in SAQ 11 were correct, it was probably because these statements concerned specific 'facts' which could not be obtained from the average figures in the table. Statements 3 and 6 concern a wider range of cases ('the world') than are presented in the table (15 nations).

In tables such as this, we are obliged to rely on the accuracy and comparability of the figures, which in this case have been compiled by 'official' bodies (the Australian Bureau of Statistics and the United Nations). It is not usually possible for ordinary citizens like us to check that the figures used in the comparisons have been compiled on the same basis in each of the listed nations. For example, even in the table we have just discussed (Coppell, p.9), the figures given in column 3 are not strictly comparable because the years of collection are not identical, varying from 1968 to 1977.

We saw earlier in the course how important it is that the concept of 'urban' residence (and 'rural' residence) is the same in every analysis. You may recall the remarks made by John Barrett, quoted at the end of SAQ 1 (p.13), that the official Australian definition of 'urban' residence in the late-nineteenth century included settlements of more than 500 people. In the same period, the official definitions in Canada and the United States established much higher levels to qualify as 'urban' population. We presume that the United Nations, and other international bodies which compile comparative national statistics, such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (O.E.C.D.), have managed to ensure that all the figures are compiled on the same basis, using common definitions.

A similar problem occurs in our everyday discussion of such themes as the city and the bush, or urban and rural Australia. Are we all using the same concepts of city, bush, urban and rural? Do we mean to include small country towns in the 'rural' category or in the 'urban' category? Where are we to place a small 'hobby farm' on the fringe of a large city, used only at weekends by a city professional? The purpose in raising these questions here is to make us aware of the need for consistent use of agreed definitions: particularly if we wish to make careful comparisons of several nations, or if we wish to discuss the nature and significance of urbanisation in Australia.

In the next exercise, we will examine the table on p.4 of the course text: McDonald & Guilfoyle, *Urban Social Atlas of Brisbane 1976*. For your convenience, a simplified form of this table appears below (the data for years 1851, 1861, 1961 and 1971 have been omitted). Our detailed consideration of the *Urban Social Atlas* will be undertaken in section 5 of this course.

The table presents percentage figures, giving the size of capital city populations as a proportion of colony/state

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population. In reading the table, remember that the figures do not refer to the actual size of city populations, but to the degree of urban centralisation of population in each colony/state.

	Melbourne	Sydney	Adelaide	Brisbane	Perth	Hobart
1871	26	27	27	13	-	25
1881	31	30	33	14	30	23
1891	41	35	37	24	32	22
1901	40	37	39	24	33	20
1911	45	47	41	23	38	21
1954	63	55	61	38	55	31
1966	66	58	68	43	60	32
1976	68	58	69	44	64	33

Capital city population as a percentage of Colony/State population

SAQ 12

After studying the figures in the table above, answer the following questions:

1. In which decade before 1911 did Brisbane undergo its most rapid population expansion in relation to the total population of Queensland?

2. Which two capital cities have consistently had the lowest proportion of their state populations?

3. Give one reason why the truth of the following statement cannot be determined solely on the basis of the information in this table. 'The population of Brisbane actually fell in the decade between 1901 and 1911.'

4. Comment on the clarity and accuracy of the following statement: 'Brisbane is gradually catching up with the two largest Australian cities.' Note any limitations in the evidence contained in the table.

4.3 Reading the *Urban Social Atlas of Brisbane*

In this section, you are introduced to the evidence and methodology of the course text: McDonald & Guilfoyle, *Urban Social Atlas of Brisbane 1976*. This text is a detailed case study of the relationship between the geography (layout) of

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a major Australian city and some of the social and economic characteristics of its residents. In the following sections, we will be concerned especially with evidence on the relationship between belonging to certain social classes and living in particular suburbs of Brisbane.

In contrast to Ward's focus on the ideas (myths, ethos, culture) of rural and urban Australians, McDonald & Guilfoyle concentrate on examining the links between various empirical characteristics of urban life - such as the links between high income, tertiary education, professional employment and living in a prestigious (and expensive) location. This fits closely our concerns in this course with questions of evidence and interpretation arising from social scientists' attempts to understand the main patterns of urban and suburban Australia. We will use this material to extend our grasp of empirical analysis - the use of statistics, for example, in arguments about modern society - and in section 5 below we will undertake some statistical exercises drawn from the course text.

Continuity with earlier parts of the course is also provided by our concern to understand the complexities contained within such apparently unified objects as 'the city', 'the bush', 'suburbia', etc. Just as 'bush' society was fragmented by social and ethnic divisions of various kinds (Wilkes, in Course HP02a, *The Bush Legend*), so we see here that urban and suburban Australia are also divided by socio-economic factors (e.g. income, occupation, type and location of housing). It would be interesting to examine the extent to which these social divisions are also reflected in differing ideas and attitudes - or whether it is true that, despite such divisions, all Australians (or all suburban Australians) share the same set of values and assumptions about our national identity, traditions, institutions, and way of life. However, there is no data on this question of 'attitudes' in the *Urban Social Atlas*.

According to some commentators, Brisbane - in comparison with Sydney and Melbourne - has always been a 'big country town'. Others would claim that Brisbane is similar in most respects to other Australian capital cities. The influence of the bush ethos in Brisbane is not our concern in reading the *Urban Social Atlas*; rather, the text has been chosen mainly because it provides a detailed 'social map' or 'class map' of Brisbane, a city which will be familiar to most students in this programme. The socio-economic differences among classes (defined by such factors as occupation, income, etc.) correspond to a large extent with socio-economic differences among suburbs (prestige, cost of housing, access to facilities, etc.).

The data on which this book is based were obtained from the 1976 Australian Census; information was gathered about every household in the nation. Census data are compiled from the householders' answers to a detailed questionnaire. For this reason, the reliability of Census data is dependent

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on the accuracy of the answers given by the respondents. The data were available separately for each suburban (and rural) area in Australia, making it possible for social scientists to analyse and compare the socio-economic characteristics of Brisbane suburbs (or of any other areas). Similar studies have been made of other capital cities (some of these studies are listed in the book's Bibliography, pp.165-71). The Australian Bureau of Statistics is expecting to release a social atlas for each capital city, based on the 1981 Census data, during 1984.

The next few pages give an overview of the *Urban Social Atlas*, indicating which parts are central to this course and which are of less concern. It is only necessary to master certain aspects of the wide range of information in this book. To follow the summary presented below, it is necessary to have a copy of the text beside you - look quickly at the pages or chapters mentioned as you go along. (Our more detailed considerations of the main points, together with statistical exercises, begin in section 5.)

Let us begin by looking at the Table of Contents of the *Urban Social Atlas*. There are seven chapters plus an Introduction. The chapters deal with demography (mainly age and sex groups); occupations and incomes; industrial sectors and the workforce; families; ethnicity and religion; types of housing; and a general survey of social patterns.

Each chapter is followed by a series of maps, drawn by computer, which show the distribution of a particular factor (e.g. income levels, education levels, age levels) throughout the various suburbs of Brisbane. There is a 'key map' (with the names of many suburbs written in) on p.6: this should be read in conjunction with the other 73 maps throughout the book. However, we are not concerned to read the computer maps in this course; we are only concerned with the descriptions and explanations of the data in the text: looking at the computer maps is purely for your own interest.

The Introduction (pp.1-5), contains some information on the technical background to the mapping study (pp.1-3) - this may be ignored; however, read the section called 'Brisbane - Growth and Change' at the end of p.3 through to p.5. The main points are that Brisbane did not achieve the same degree of dominance as did other capital cities over their respective states; early patterns of settlement by the urban elites showed a preference for hilltop residence; and later patterns of urbanisation have produced a more complex geographical spread of suburban development and rapid population growth. (We have already analysed the table on p.4: see SAQ 12.)

Chapter 1, on the demographic aspects of Brisbane residents, discusses the distribution of age groups and male/female groups. It is not necessary to read this chapter (text, pp.7-10), but you will probably be interested

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in the main conclusions of the chapter summarised in the middle of p.10 (paragraphs beginning: 'Summing up thus far ....' and 'To summarize all the preceding results ....'). In simple language, the evidence showed that there is a strong relationship between the age structure of households (young families, older retired couples, etc.) and the distance of their suburb from the inner-city area (or C.B.D. - central business district). Generally speaking, young families are more likely to live further away from the inner city, especially in the cheaper areas of the outer-suburban sprawl; older people are less likely to live in outer-suburbia and more likely to live in the inner suburbs and the seaside suburbs. (The language used by the writer of chapter 1 is technical and difficult; make a note of any problems you had with the two paragraphs you were asked to read (p.10) and bring them to the attention of your tutor.)

Chapter 2, on occupations and incomes, is central to this course. The text of chapter 2, pp.21-7, should now be read quickly to gain a first acquaintance with the range of information and the inter-relationships which are found to exist among the factors discussed: occupation, education, income, suburb. This chapter will be analysed in more detail below but for now you should simply read it through and note any problems you wish to discuss with your tutor. Also examine the statistical tables, and particularly Table 2.6 on p.29, which shows the relationship between 17 groupings of suburbs and 12 socio-economic factors, such as occupation, education and income levels. We will examine this table in detail later (SAQ 15).

Chapter 3, on industrial sectors and the workforce, is also important for our analysis of class and suburb in Brisbane. The text of chapter 3, pp.44-50, should be read now, and difficulties noted for subsequent discussion. The first two pages deal with the importance of Brisbane as a focus of economic activity in Queensland: note that while a high proportion of internal trade is channelled through Brisbane, there is also a high level of interstate and foreign ownership of such economic activity. The next page (p.46) shows how employment in certain forms of economic activity (e.g. manufacturing, finance, sales, public service) tend to be more concentrated in Brisbane than in the rest of Queensland (Table 3.2).

The next section (pp.47-8) examines the suburban residential distribution of workers in four types of industry - manufacturing, sales, finance, and public service. These residential patterns can largely be explained in terms of (a) the suburban distribution of employment opportunities in such industries, and (b) socio-economic factors affecting the workers' choice of housing and residential location.

The final pages of chapter 3 deal with male and female participation in the workforce, and with forms of transport used in the journey to work. These last points are

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relatively straightforward, and are not central to our present concerns.

Chapter 4, on the structure of families, is of great interest but is not central to this course and may be safely ignored.

However, you may now wish to browse through the text of chapter 4, pp.60-74, looking especially for data which suggests correlations between types of family, on the one hand, and economic factors such as income, on the other. Note also the remarks (pp.72-3) on the special position of immigrant families - remarks which lead into the discussion in the following chapter.

Chapter 5, on ethnicity and religion, is again of great interest but is not a major focus of this course and may be safely ignored.

However, you will probably be interested to note three parts of this chapter: the differences in ethnic numbers and ethnic composition between Brisbane and other capital cities (pp.86-8); the analysis of the social and residential characteristics of Aborigines in Brisbane (pp.98-100); and the conclusions and commentaries (pp.101-3). Some of the issues raised by this chapter have already been discussed in Course HP01b, *Traditions*.

Chapter 6 deals with types of housing. Some differences between Brisbane and other capital cities are summarised, and evidence is presented on such issues as houses versus flats, owning versus renting, Housing Commission dwellings, building materials, and public utility services. This chapter may be read for your own interest, but it is not central to the course.

Chapter 7 is the conclusion. It is very technical, and may be safely ignored. However, a few comments are provided for anyone who wishes to persevere. The first pages are very technical and describe an academic debate about the use of statistical techniques. You can usefully begin your reading halfway down p.151, omit p.152, continue then with pp.153-4. Read these two pages, which describe Guilfoyle's attempt to construct four 'composite' indicators of social differences among Brisbane suburbs (these are linked to Maps 70-73 at the end of the chapter). The four indicators are as follows:

(1) Life cycle: measures the nature and structure of households, from the classical 'nuclear' family (parents and children living together) to smaller households (retired, childless, single-parent, etc.). For the technically minded, the classical nuclear family pattern is given a negative scoring in Table 7.4 (p.152) and is shaded most lightly in Map 70 (p.160). You may find the maps difficult to use but remember that you are not required to use them in this course.

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(2) Socio-economic status: measures the occupation, income, education, and type of housing of suburban residents. (The highest status areas are given a negative scoring in Table 7.4, and are shaded most lightly in Map 71. The lowest status areas, correspondingly, are given a positive score in Table 7.4, and heavier shading in Map 71.)

(3) Stability: measures the length of residence of suburban populations, from long-established residents (negative scores in Table 7.4 and lighter shading in Map 72) to transitory, mobile or newly established residents (positive scores in Table 7.4 and heavier shading in Map 72).

(4) Ethnicity: measures the concentrations of non-English speaking immigrants - see also the discussion in chapter 5. (Negative scores in Table 7.4 and lighter shading in Map 73 indicate an absence of such groups, while positive scores in Table 7.4 and heavier shading in Map 73 indicate higher concentrations of such groups.)

Of these four 'composite' social indicators, we are mainly interested in the second - 'socio-economic status' - which is a form of index for social class. The other indicators are relevant in various ways, however, in helping to explain the complexities of relating class and suburb.

Appendix A, pp.172-3, lists 211 suburbs which were used as mapping areas in the study. These suburbs were then analysed in relation to 68 social and economic factors (or 'variables'). These factors are each shown separately on a map (Maps 2-69). The definitions used for each factor are provided in Appendix B, pp.174-9. If you want to check the 'score' for a particular suburb on each of the 68 variables, you can consult Appendix D, pp.188-207: these 'scores' can only be understood in relation to the definitions in Appendix B. However, it is not necessary for you to read or to master the technical details contained in the various appendixes of the book.

Much of the analysis we will be undertaking in the following pages involves examining the relationships which social scientists have found between two or more socio-economic factors (or 'variables'). For example, there is considerable discussion of the relationship found between 'class' (based on income, etc.) and 'suburb' (residential location). If there is a clear and systematic relationship between, say, high-income families and living in prestigious and expensive suburbs, or between low-income families and living in a different set of suburbs, then we can say that there is a positive correlation between class and suburb. A correlation (or relationship) can be relatively strong or relatively weak. A 'strong correlation' is said to exist when it is shown, through examining a large number of cases, that factor X (e.g. high income) usually tends to be found in conjunction with factor Y (e.g. living in an expensive

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suburb). A strong correlation thus means there is a high probability of finding the two factors together. (A 'weak correlation' means there is a low probability of the factors being associated.) Statistical correlations describe a level of probability in a large number of examples. We cannot expect to 'explain' why a particular young couple, Mr and Mrs Brown, live 30 kilometres from the G.P.O. if our only evidence is a general statistical correlation between young families and outer-suburban residence; but we know that young families like the Browns have a higher tendency to live in the outer-suburban areas than in inner suburbs.

It is always necessary to determine, by careful reasoning and further examination of evidence, the causes of (or reasons for) such tendencies. A statistical correlation is not itself a cause of the events observed: it only gives us grounds for further reasoning and investigation.

For example, if there was found to be a strong statistical correlation between workers' alarm clocks sounding at 6 a.m. and their factory machines starting operations at 7 a.m., we couldn't say that the alarm clocks caused the machines to commence. The explanation might lie instead in the wider organisation of work in industrial society. Similarly, if there was found to be a strong statistical correlation between living in the suburb of St. Lucia and having a high income, we couldn't say that living in that prestigious suburb ensures a high income - or vice versa. The explanation might lie instead in the organisation of the housing market into low and high status areas, the work opportunities opened or closed by each suburb, and the ability of different income earners to buy into different suburbs.

We can summarise these points by noting that statistical correlations represent various kinds of association or relationship between two or more factors; the correlations express certain levels of probability that these factors are associated in a large number of cases. The correlations are not in themselves explanations of why the events or relationships tend to occur in a certain pattern; and the correlations cannot properly be used to predict or explain individual cases. These rather general points will become clearer as we work through the detailed examples and exercises in the following pages.

This completes our overview or introduction to the contents of the course text. The following sections look in more detail at the relationship between suburbs and social classes in Brisbane, and guide you through a selection of statistical tables.

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5 URBAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF BRISBANE 1976

The term 'social structure' is used to describe a hierarchy of power, influence and status, based on such factors as occupation, wealth, education and ethnic background. In most sociological descriptions of society and inequality, it is usual to distinguish between the working class(es), middle class(es), and upper class (or ruling class, consisting of wealthy landowners and controllers of large corporations). The classes which comprise the social structure are mainly shaped by the organisation of work and the control of resources, leading to different levels of wealth and influence (matters which are dealt with more fully in Course HP05a, *Work in History*). The social structure of a city (urban social structure) will differ from that of the countryside (rural social structure) owing to differences in the patterns of occupations, ownership and industries. In the same way, the social structurn of the various capital cities in Australia will differ, to some extent, owing to their different histories of economic specialisation, and relations to other urban and rural areas.

5.1 Class and inequality in Brisbane

In examining the *Urban Social Atlas*, we are especially concerned, firstly, with examining the relationships or correlations between various socio-economic factors, e.g. occupation and education, income and suburb, etc.; and secondly, with the problems of explaining the causes of (or reasons for) these correlations.

This section treats in detail some of the information in chapter 2 of the *Urban Social Atlas*. It is appropriate for you now to begin by re-reading carefully the section 'Description of major patterns' on pp.25-7. McDonald here summarises the relationships between classes (defined in terms of occupations, education and income levels) and suburbs. The quotation from Hughes (1968) in the middle of p.25 suggests that Brisbane suburbs are more socially 'mixed' than in other cities because in most suburbs the middle class has tended to occupy the hills and ridges while the working class has tended to occupy the lower areas of land: this would produce a complex mosaic, with middle-class and working-class housing constantly interspersed in each suburb. McDonald claims, however, that this picture is no longer accurate, though it may have been true some decades ago (before 1945).

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SAQ 13

Read pp.25-7 of the *Urban Social Atlas* and answer the questions below.

1. What are the distinctive socio-economic features of the 'western suburbs' of Brisbane? (30 words)

2. Which other suburbs are identified by the author as having high levels of income and occupational status? (p.25)

3. Which three social groups are most heavily concentrated in the more 'economically disadvantaged suburbs'? (pp.25-26)

4. McDonald claims that Brisbane suburbs are not as socially 'mixed' as they were before World War II. What new pattern, according to McDonald, has become evident in post-war decades? (middle of p.25)

5. On p.27, which two types of housing 'developers' are identified? What is the main difference in their economic roles?

We will now turn to the main criteria of 'class' discussed in chapter 2 - occupation, education and income. On p.21, McDonald begins by claiming that 'Brisbane is Australia's poorest capital city', at least in terms of income (and probably in terms of accumulated personal wealth). The reason for this is not clearly stated by McDonald, but we might guess that Brisbane's relative lack of income/wealth is partly caused by the high degree of interstate and foreign ownership of large corporations (see pp.21, 45). Non-salary types of income (dividends, rent, interest, etc.) tend to be enjoyed by recipients outside Queensland, who own the land, buildings or corporations from which these profits are derived.

The distribution of occupations in a city can tell us a great deal about patterns of economic activity and class structure. From Course HP01b, *Traditions*, you may recall drawing some conclusions about the status of various immigrant groups in Australian society from an examination of their occupational distribution. Here, some different kinds of analysis are made. Firstly, the occupational structure of Brisbane is compared with that of other capital cities (Table 2.1, *Atlas*, p.21). Secondly, the occupational structure of Brisbane suburbs is compared (Table 2.6, *Atlas*, p.29).

Examine Table 2.1; we can see that Brisbane has a higher-than-average proportion of workers in the administra-

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tion, sales and transport categories, and a lower-than-average proportion of workers in professional categories. By contrast, Canberra - the home of federal government bureaucracies - is well endowed with clerical and professional workers, and has a very low proportion of labourers and process workers (assembly-line operators). Each of the cities in this table has relative strengths and weaknesses in terms of these occupational categories.

Brisbane's occupational structure is also reflected in the educational attainments of its residents. Table 2.3 (p.22) shows that Brisbane residents are less inclined to be engaged in full-time studies and are less likely to have gained a degree/diploma than residents in most other capital cities of Australia. (You might note the data in Coppell, *Australia in Figures*, p.141, which showed that the Queensland government spends less on education per capita than do other state governments.)

SAQ 14

Examine Tables 2.1 and 2.3 on pp.21-2 of the *Urban Social Atlas*. These tables present data on the distribution of occupations in each of eight cities, and data on some measures of educational activity and attainment in those cities. Looking at both tables together, it is possible to see some links (correlations) between occupations and levels of education.

1. According to Table 2.1, 50.2 per cent of the workforce in Canberra are in the professional and clerical categories (18.7 plus 31.5 per cent). What evidence is there in Table 2.3 that shows a link (correlation) between these occupational patterns and educational levels in Canberra?

2. In Table 2.1, in which occupational categories does the Brisbane workforce achieve proportions above those in most other capital cities?

3. Table 2.3 shows relatively low levels of educational activity and attainment in Brisbane. However the reasons for (causes of) the patterns given in Table 2.3 cannot be derived directly from the data. Suggest a few possible reasons for the Brisbane patterns.

Study Table 2.6 on p.29. It gives us a great amount of data which can be used in describing the urban social structure of Brisbane. Data on occupations, education and income are provided for 17 suburban sectors (also called sub-regions) of Brisbane.

The first column shows the percentage of professional (and technical) workers residing in certain suburban

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locations. We already know (Table 2.1) that the overall proportion of professionals in the Brisbane workforce is 12.1 per cent. We are thus able to see which groups of suburbs contain above-average and below-average proportions of professional workers. In the second column, data is given on the proportion of clerical and sales workers in the 17 suburban areas. We already know from Table 2.1 that these categories contained 28.8 per cent (20.2 plus 8.6) of the Brisbane workforce in 1976. Thus, we can determine which suburban groups have a higher or lower-than-average proportion of clerical and sales workers. In column 3, similar calculations can be made for process workers and labourers, who we know from Table 2.1 constitute 29.3 per cent of the Brisbane workforce.

One of the tendencies emerging from this analysis is that suburbs achieve high scores in either professionals or labourers, but not in both categories. This tendency is one indication of socio-economic segregation, in contrast to socio-economic mixing, in patterns of suburban residence. Thus, one of the 17 groups of suburbs has the distinction of achieving both the highest level of professionals and the lowest level of labourers. (Which suburban sector is it? It is mentioned in McDonald's discussion on p.25 of the text.)

Table 2.6 also shows how educational qualifications are related to occupation. The suburban area with the highest level of professionals is also the area with the highest proportion of tertiary graduates. Those areas where less than two per cent of the workforce are graduates tend also to be areas where the proportion of labourers is above average (most clearly in the cases of Caboolture, Ipswich and Moreton).

Table 2.6 also shows how income levels are related to the data on occupations and education. Six measures of income level are used. One group of suburbs gained the highest score on four of these measures - proportion of personal incomes over $15,000; per capita income; proportion of family incomes over $15,000; and median family income. At the other extreme, there are four groups of suburbs in which over 30 per cent of families had a household income of under $5000, and five groups of suburbs where over 47 per cent of individual income earners received less than $5000.

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SAQ 15

Study Table 2.6 in the *Urban Social Atlas*, and answer the following questions.

1. List the five suburban groups containing the highest proportion of professionals, and the five suburban groups containing the lowest proportion of labourers. What is striking about these two lists?

2. What does your answer to question 1 suggest to you about the degree of class 'segregation' (as against class 'mixing') in Brisbane? (20 words)

3. The group of 'western suburbs' clearly contains the largest proportions of people with high qualifications, high incomes and 'good' jobs. At the other end of the spectrum, name the suburbs containing the largest proportions of people with low incomes. (List the three poorest groups of suburbs for each of three income measures: family income under $5000; family income over $15,000; median family income.)

4. List the four groups of suburbs where over 30 per cent of families had a household income of less than $5000 in 1976.

5. List the five groups of suburbs where over 47 per cent of individual income earners received less than $5000 in 1976.

Before concluding this discussion of suburbs and social classes, it is important to draw your attention to pp.47-8, where Jensen describes the residential location of 'blue-collar', 'white-collar', and business ('exclusive') groups - see also Maps 12 and 24 (blue-collar); 11 and 25 (white-collar); and 10, 13 and 26 (professional and business). The lower and upper occupational groupings are also reflected in the maps on income (20-23, 37-39). Maps 48, 50, 65 and 66 are also relevant for understanding the links between socio-economic factors and suburban location.

The terms 'working-class' and 'middle-class' - and suburbs labelled by these class categories - have been met on several occasions in your readings. On p.26, McDonald describes as 'middle-class suburbs' those which are not characterised by the extremes of either the poorest or the richest families in Brisbane. On p.47, on the other hand, we saw that Jensen divides the 'class map' into 'blue-collar', 'white-collar' and 'exclusive' suburbs. In this course, we are not concerned to resolve these questions of terminology and categorisation: we simply note the lack of consistent definitions in the various discussions of

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socio-economic 'class', and urge that you reconsider carefully the reasons and criteria you would use for assigning a person/household to a certain 'class' position, or for describing a particular suburb as typical of a certain 'class' of residents.

Finally, chapter 7 gives a technical overview of the 'social map' of Brisbane, and Map 71 gives a picture of socio-economic variables (the lighter shading depicts richer suburbs, and the darker shading poorer suburbs). Remember, however, that it is not only the labouring classes which are relatively poor. McDonald points out (p.26) that the elderly (retired, pensioners) have low levels of income (though they may be home-owners), and that various groups of unemployed, socially disadvantaged, and socially detached people may be the victims of poverty.

5.2 Reading statistical tables (II)

In this section, we will work through some of the other tables in the *Urban Social Atlas* and pay special attention to the issue of using different measures of income in discussions of the material well-being of cities, households and individuals.

The importance of income as a measure of class, and its relationship to occupation and education, is emphasised in chapter 2. Read carefully pp.22-4 on incomes in Brisbane. Then look again at Table 2.4, which shows that Brisbane residents in 1976 had lower average incomes than in any other capital city. In column 1, per capita income (average individual income) is measured - Brisbane individuals scored lowest of 8 capital cities. In column 2, 'median' family income is measured - again, Brisbane families scored lowest. Note an error in the text: the headings for columns I and 2 of Table 2.4 should read Per Capita Income ($) and Median Family Income ($); the figures represent dollars, not percentages.

SAQ 16

Study the first two columns of figures in Table 2.4. They present two different measures of income for residents in eight cities. Write two lists of cities in order of income-levels, from the highest to the lowest, using the data in each of these two columns.

You will have found that the two lists, from the richest to the poorest of the eight cities, are fairly similar in sequence. Brisbane is last on both measures, Canberra is first on both measures. Does this mean that the data in column 1 are similar to the data in column 2? What is the

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difference between 'median family income' and 'per capita income' as measures of material well-being? Are different results obtained from using these different measures? There are three points you should note about these different measures:

1. 'Per capita' figures refer to personal individual incomes, whereas 'family income' refers to total household income (there may be two or more income-earners in a household). Hence, 'family income' is usually at a higher level (here, in the range $8153-12,919) than individual 'per capita income' (here, $3335-4442).

2. 'Per capita' figures represent an average of all individual incomes, including those of children and other dependants earning no incomes. An 'average' figure is obtained by adding all the individual amounts of income and dividing this total by the number of individual cases. Thus, in a group of 11 individuals, of whom eight each had an income of $10,000, two each had an income of $4000, and one had no income at all, the average individual income ('per capita' income) would be $8000 ($88,000 total individual income, divided by 11).

3. 'Median' figures represent, on the contrary, the mid-point along a scale or distribution of cases, where half the cases lie above and half below that point. (See the brief explanation of 'median personal income' at the foot of p.23 of the *Urban Social Atlas*, and 'median family income' on p.24.) In the above example of 11 individuals, the 'median' personal income figure would be $10,000 because that is the income of that individual (no. 6) who is ranked in the middle of that series of individuals. In another group of 11 individuals, of whom eight each had an income of $3000, two each had an income of $10,000, and one had an income of $1,000,000, the 'median' personal income would be $3000. The average or 'per capita' income in this example, however, would be over $94,900, so you can see that in extreme cases the measures give totally different results. (In investigating the material welfare of residents in an oil-rich sheikhdom, would it be better to examine average income or median income?)

SAQ 17

Study Table 2.4 in the *Urban Social Atlas* and answer the following questions.

1. Give one or more reasons why the figures in column 1 (per capita income) are much lower than the figures in column 2 (median family income).

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(SAQ 17, cont'd)

2. Which two cities have the largest proportion of families receiving a household income of less than $5000 (column 6)?

3. Which two cities have the lowest proportion of families receiving a household income of more than $15,000?

4. Give two or more reasons why the data in columns 5 and 7 show that there is a relative absence of high income earners in Brisbane (in relation especially to Canberra, Darwin, Sydney and Melbourne). Note that the reasons are not provided in Table 2.4 - you will have to consult other tables in chapter 2, and also note points made in the text on pp.21, 45.

Column 3 in Table 2.4 gives figures for the 'Gini Co-efficient' of family incomes. This is a technical measure of inequalities in income and it is not necessary for you to understand it for this course. A brief explanation may nevertheless be useful. In a population where incomes were absolutely equal, the 'Gini' score would be zero. In a population where incomes were absurdly unequal, the 'Gini' score would approach 1.0. Thus, the lower the 'Gini' score, the more equal is the income distribution. The figures in column 3 show that Canberra (0.265) has the lowest 'Gini' score and therefore has the most even distribution of family incomes. Canberra is followed, in order of increasing inequality, by Darwin, Adelaide, Perth, Sydney, Brisbane, Hobart and Melbourne. However, the differences are 'relatively small', according to McDonald.

Columns 4, 5, 6 and 7 in Table 2.4 present data on personal (individual) incomes and family incomes. Separate data are given for individuals and families in two categories: those earning $1500-$5000 and those earning over $15,000. (See the explanation at the end of p.23.) McDonald comments that, in comparing Brisbane figures with those for the other capital cities, the most striking feature is 'the smaller proportion of individuals and families in Brisbane with incomes higher than $15,000'. This observation could be put another way: it is the relative absence of high-income earners, rather than an abundance of low-income earners, that is striking about Brisbane (in relation to Melbourne, Sydney, Canberra and Darwin). In the upper levels of income (columns 5 and 7), Canberra and Darwin are the leaders while Adelaide and Brisbane come last.

In the middle paragraph of p.24, McDonald notes that the various income measures used in the study (and reported in

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Tables 2.4 and 2.6) give slightly different results and are thus more useful for different purposes. Those measures identifying the lower and upper levels of income (e.g. under $5000 or over $15,000) help to locate 'suburbs with a predominance of the very poor and very rich'. Other columns present either 'median' or 'per capita' measures. McDonald believes that 'median family income' data is a more useful overall measure of income distribution in a city than is 'per capita' income, because the per capita figures are strongly influenced by the number of dependants (children, non-working spouse, etc.) in each household.

Suburbs with high 'dependency' rates tend to have lower 'per capita' income levels, while suburbs with low 'dependency' rates tend to have higher 'per capita' income levels. McDonald also points out (top of p.26) that dependency rates tend to be higher in the working-class or 'manufacturing' suburbs of Brisbane. The higher dependency rate tends to 'stretch' the already low wages of the major breadwinner in each household, reducing per capita income levels and the material well-being of the household.

SAQ 18

1. In which of the following two suburbs is there likely to be a higher level of material well-being? Why?

	Proportion of professional workers	Average number of dependants per household
Suburb A	10 per cent	3
Suburb B	3 per cent	5

2. What additional information would you need to make a more thorough comparison of material well-being in various suburbs?

Turn to chapter 3 on industrial sectors and the workforce. Table 3.2 and the commentary by Jensen on pp.45-7 deal with the relationship between the employment structure of Brisbane and the employment structure of Queensland as a whole. Table 3.2 thus shows the extent to which certain economic activities tend to be centralised in the state's capital city. The figure in the bottom right-hand corner of Table 3.2 shows that 47.8 per cent of the total Queensland workforce is employed in Brisbane. (This figure can serve as a yardstick if we want to know whether certain types of industrial employment are more concentrated within Brisbane or outside Brisbane.) The figures in the right-hand vertical column show Brisbane's share of Queensland's employment in each of 13 types of economic activity. Thus, for example, Brisbane accounts for only 5.2 per cent of the

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state's agricultural workforce, but 62.8 per cent of its 'finance and business services' workforce. (We can safely assume that the remaining 94.8 per cent of the agricultural workers and remaining 37.2 per cent of the finance/business sector are employed in provincial cities and rural areas of the state.)

Columns 1 and 2 of Table 3.2 show the industrial composition of the Queensland workforce and of the Brisbane workforce. For example, 9.7 per cent of the state's total workforce is employed in agriculture, but only one per cent of the Brisbane workforce is thus engaged.

SAQ 19

Study Table 3.2 in the *Urban Social Atlas*, and answer the questions below.

1. Which three industries account for the largest proportions of the Queensland workforce?

2. Are these three industries more highly concentrated in Brisbane than in the state as a whole?

3. In which two industries in Queensland does the Brisbane workforce play only a small part?

4. Which four industries in Queensland are most strongly concentrated in Brisbane?

For our final exercise, we will examine Table 6.1 on p.115. This table compares several aspects of housing (houses versus flats; owner versus tenant; brick versus timber, etc.) in five capital cities.

SAQ 20

Study Table 6.1 in the *Urban Social Atlas*, and answer the questions below.

1. Which of these cities has the lowest and which has the highest proportion of flats?

2. Which two cities have the lowest proportion of state (public) housing tenancies?

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(SAQ 20 cont'd)

3. Describe the main differences between the construction materials used in Brisbane dwellings by comparison with the other cities. (20 words)

4. Adelaide has the highest level of home-ownership, the highest proportion of sewered dwellings, and the highest proportion of brick/stone dwellings. Is there a causal relationship between these three factors or do you think that the relationship has no real significance? Give reasons.

5. Brisbane has the highest proportion of separate houses and relatively little higher-density housing (e.g. multi-storey flat developments). In the light of these facts, comment briefly on the following claim: 'Brisbane is the heartland of Australian suburbia.' (Do not confine yourself to information in Table 6.1 - you will need to think about several issues raised by the course as a whole.)

You have now completed the set reading and exercises (SAQs) for this course - there remain only some tentative concluding remarks, and the assessment item. Before proceeding, however, it may be interesting for you to return to the preliminary exercise on p.4 of this study guide; reconsider your earlier attempt, and give reasons for any changes you feel are necessary in your answers.

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6 CONCLUSIONS

This course has travelled a long way, from a reconsideration of the arguments and evidence in the debate on Russel Ward's account of the bush ethos, through some major themes in recent writings about city/suburb/country relationships, and finally to a close examination of the urban social structure of Brisbane and patterns of urban inequality.

The debate between Ward and his social-science critics was analysed to determine what types of evidence are used in constructing alternative arguments concerning Australia's national identity. The writings of urban sociologists were analysed to show that 'city' life is just as complex and varied as 'country' life, in terms of attitudes and inequalities. Our study of Brisbane confirmed these patterns of inequality, and provided detailed information for our attempts to explain some of these patterns. Urban Australia appears to be a contradictory and uneven set of phenomena rather than a homogeneous 'way of life'.

The course has been concerned to highlight certain matters of evidence and methodology - particularly the ways in which empirical evidence may be used in constructing an argument, and the ways in which empirical evidence has sometimes been used in attempts to refute social 'myths'. One central theme has been that of urbanisation, and we have noted the common assumption that urbanisation has made the bush ethos obsolete. We have also read several authors' explanations of the 'paradox' that an essentially urban nation should have invented an essentially rural self-image and national identity.

The study guide commentary has tried to avoid directing the reader towards certain conclusions, and the intention was to suggest that these debates are still open rather than closed. Continuing disagreements about our 'national identity' in the mass media, the ambivalent re-creation of rural nostalgia by our film industry and concern for preserving our 'natural' environment, suggest that there are still a number of competing strands in our national images and national priorities.

The myths analysed by Richard White and others are not simply 'false', and thus cannot be neatly 'refuted' by social 'facts'. As cultural creations, these myths have a degree of vitality quite independent of academic criticism. One of the most interesting aspects of analysing these myths is to explore the reasons for (and interests served by) the dissemination of certain images, and the ways in which the myths are adapted to changing social, economic and political circumstances.

One of the social 'myths' implicit in the language of politics and of everyday life is the myth of an essentially homogeneous Australian community whose central values, attitudes and lifestyle are fundamentally the same. The

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evidence of social and economic diversity presented in this course may lead us to question the myth of a homogeneous Australian community with shared ideas. However, the myth itself will survive our criticisms, because it serves as a political/moral appeal to ignore our differences and join together in a common cause (e.g. defending the country; working harder to solve our economic problems; isolating 'radicals' and 'extremists' who seem to want major changes in society). Various conceptions of 'community' will be examined in the next course, HP03a, *Community and Control*.

Most social myths take the form of suggesting that there is a set of essential or central qualities (values, institutions, behaviour) which should be respected/promoted/defended as the most important elements of social life in a particular 'community'. Such myths usually contain a large amount of moral and qualitative judgement, e.g. recommending certain forms of thought and action as superior to others. Social myths, therefore, are not simply empirical statements about certain aspects of society; they also involve important claims about the most desirable forms of thought and action. To put it another way, myths involve qualitative judgements which are not readily disproved by the quantitative evidence or empirically based arguments of social science.

The evidence provided by literary and cultural studies can certainly help to document the origins and transmission of certain myths, and to estimate how widely they are held in a society - this is what Russel Ward tried to do in *The Australian Legend*. Many of the social scientists who criticised Ward's argument used alternative types of evidence (such as economic and social statistics). You may wish to query whether demographic evidence about urbanisation is sufficient to rebut the Ward thesis, for the latter is mainly an argument about the prevalence of certain attitudes and values, rather than about the proportions of people in rural and urban areas. Ward's argument is about what was seen as a distinctively Australian ethos ('typical'), and not about the actual qualities of the ordinary (or 'average') Australian.

This course invites you to apply some of your developing skills of analysis and explanation to the field of urban and suburban Australia. To what extent is our everyday thinking about modern urban life based on stereotypes? Is 'suburbia' an adequate image for contemporary Australian society? What kinds of evidence are most relevant for understanding the processes which shape our urban development and social structure?

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TUTORIAL ONE

Bring your study guide, course readings, the course text (*Urban Social Atlas*), Coppell's *Australia in Figures* and any queries you have jotted down on problems you may have encountered with your reading. It is assumed that you are reasonably familiar with the first half of the course, i.e. to page 33 and associated readings. The first tutorial will deal with three areas:

1. Any 'content' problems on which you want help or guidance such as the use of certain concepts, the points at issue in certain debates, the purpose of certain readings, and the general direction of the course.

2. Discussion of the skills of reading, interpretation, and the use of evidence.

3. Discussion of the following general issues raised by the course:

   (a) Do you think that the social-science evidence about urbanisation in Australia (Glynn, McCarty, etc.) proves that the 'Ward thesis' is irrelevant to modern Australian society and culture?

   (b) What are our common images of suburbia? How are these images shaped and transmitted? Have images of suburban Australia largely displaced images of rural Australia?

If you cannot or do not wish to attend this tutorial, you should complete the course readings; complete all the SAQs (checking your answers against the suggestions at the end of the study guide); and consider the general issues mentioned above. If you have any queries, you may contact your tutor by phone or letter.

If you want additional practice with understanding statistical tables, try to familiarise yourself with the tables in Coppell, *Australia in Figures*, pp.6-7, 90-1, 141 and try to think about the factors which could help to explain the patterns and correlations exhibited by these tables.

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TUTORIAL TWO

Bring your study guide, course readings, course text (*Urban Social Atlas*) and assessment item.

1. The basic purpose of this tutorial is to consider the skills of writing, argument and calculation required to complete the assessment item.

2. Other queries arising from the content of the course readings and texts will be discussed. Particular attention will be paid to the course text (*Urban Social Atlas*).

3. The following general topics may also be discussed:

   (a) What are the main causes of socio-economic inequality?

   (b) To what extent is Brisbane's pattern of urban development different from capital cities elsewhere in Australia?

   (c) Do you think that social science can disperse all the one-sided images of Australian society and culture?

For those who cannot or do not wish to attend this tutorial, completion of the SAQs and readings is advisable before you begin planning your answers to the assessment item. You may contact your tutor regarding your essay plans, or problems of interpreting the requirements of the assessment item.

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FURTHER READING

It is not necessary to read more than the course texts and specified readings. However, if you wish to read more widely, you could consult the full versions of books from which excerpts have been selected for this course. You may also wish to look at some of the following (available in Griffith University Library), all of which are written in an Australian context.

KILMARTIN, L. & THORNS, D. (1978). *Cities Unlimited.* Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

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ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

SAQ 1 (p.13)

1. Literary images of national character are said to be one-sided; suspect and dangerous; ill-defined and untestable; impressionistic; and not a substitute for comprehensive social history.

2. No standard answer. However, you should comment on Glynn's reasons for being wary of literary evidence, and perhaps indicate which sources of literary evidence you think would be most valuable (e.g. diaries, poems, ballads, stories, travellers' sketches).

3. Yes. Glynn discusses urban larrikinism (e.g. the writings of C.J. Dennis) at R1:2-3. He also makes a passing mention of 'booster' literature praising conditions in the colonial capitals (R1:5).

4. In general, Glynn prefers to rely upon quantitative data (statistical evidence) providing it is comprehensive, or representative of the range of relevant factors. He gives one example (R1:4) of misleading statistics - or, more precisely, an example of drawing an unwarranted inference from certain figures. He notes that the rising proportion of Australian-born residents is usually said to be a factor in the development of a distinctive national 'type' in the 1890s. Indeed, a large majority of New South Wales residents in 1891 were Australian-born, but these were mainly children: a majority of adults were born overseas, and might therefore be assumed to have imported cultural values and attitudes from overseas (mainly Britain). In any case, warns Glynn, birthplace may not be a reliable indicator of nationalist sentiment: he jokes that two of our prime ministers (we assume he means S.M. Bruce and R.G. Menzies) were accused of being more English than Australian.

5. Glynn sees the bush legend as a form of escapism; an emotional outlet; a form of protest against the urban physical environment and economic depression; filling a void in supplying a distinct national identity; and a creation of city writers.

6. Glynn's claim depends almost entirely on his repeated assertion that a majority of Australians were urban dwellers, and that the capital cities of the colonies shared many features with large cities in other Western countries - he assumes there was a distinctively 'urban' set of values and distinctively 'urban' patterns of life, which had little in common with rural life.

7. Glynn and Barrett clearly hold opposing views. You might be inclined to think that Glynn has failed to produce adequate evidence on the nature of city/country

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relationships or interaction. He assumes that urbanisation is the fundamental feature of Australian history since about 1880, and he is concerned to redress the past tendency among our historians to focus more on the bush instead of the cities.

SAQ 2 (p.17)

1. The main reason for the growth of Australian capital cities was not manufacturing industry, but the role of cities in channelling and servicing the rural industries of the hinterland: 'bases for the opening up of new lands'. Manufacturing came later, to provide goods for the growing population and to provide goods and services for the export industries. Overseas demand for primary products ('staple exports') was the major underlying determinant of the growth of these commercial cities.

2. There is an element of good luck involved. Most commercial cities, he says, were established with only limited prior knowledge of the resources and possibilities of their hinterlands: better locations may have been found. Moreover, changes in the economic patterns of the hinterland could also undermine the primacy of the cities or restrain their growth. However, in Australia all the capitals (except perhaps Hobart) were fortunate enough to 'consolidate' their original dominance over their inland regions. (Some reasons for this dominance are mentioned later in the article.)

3. 'Primate' is here a geographical term, describing the extent to which the largest city in a region exceeds the population of the next largest city (or group of cities). In a 'primate' distribution of cities, there is one large city, a lack of cities of 'intermediate' size, and a cluster of smaller cities. This may be contrasted with a 'rank distribution', where there is a fairly uniform gradation in the sizes of cities in a region, including small, intermediate and large cities. Examples of a 'primate' distribution of urban population could be found in all the Australian colonies in 1900, except in Tasmania where the size of the two largest cities differed by only 33 per cent. In each of the other colonies, the ratio between the capital city and the second largest city ranged from 7:1 in Queensland to 23:1 in South Australia.

4. Stage 1: Walking was the main means of transport, at least for the lower classes. The rich lived in the city centre, or out in the countryside. Workers lived in inner suburbs, which became identified in class terms as either working-class industrial areas or as middle-class residential areas.

   Stage 2: Cheap public transport made possible the creation of a new outer zone of suburbs, so that workers

in the new working-class residential suburbs could travel cheaply to inner industrial areas. These outer suburbs were more clearly residential areas. New middle-class suburbs featured larger blocks of land and larger houses, leading to heavier investment in construction and in public works and utilities. The inner city increasingly became a commercial area as greater numbers of rich residents moved into new suburbs.

Stage 3: High levels of urban investment, generally high income levels, and overseas capital, sustained the continued growth of cities with their expensive outer zones of suburbs and public works. Social class differences were important, but class boundaries were less rigid and upward mobility easier than in European cities.

5. McCarty claims that in 'old' societies, endowed with traditions of a heroic past, there is a rich heritage of romantic myths upon which to draw. But in 'new' societies like Australia, it was necessary to invent a myth to meet the emotional needs of the people. This could not be found in the materialistic and monotonous operations of the capitalist economic system, so the people turned to their rural hinterlands. A similar pattern can be found, for these reasons, in the mythologies of North America, Argentina and Australia.

6. McCarty finds five explanations for the size and rate of growth of capital cities. (Note that his numbering differs from that listed here.)

   (a) The size and growth rate of a city depends on the wealth and development of its surrounding hinterland or economic region.

   (b) It depends on the capital city's ability to dominate economic activities of the region against competition from provincial cities and other capital cities.

   (c) Larger cities reach a stage of autonomous growth arising from large-scale investment in construction and public works.

   (d) A simple economic structure (e.g. dominance of a staple rural export industry) will favour a 'primate' distribution of urban population.

   (e) A compact and accessible hinterland will favour the growth of the capital city owing to lower transport costs.

   The different abilities of Australian capital cities to achieve regional dominance thus depended on these five factors - examples are given in the reading.

SAQ 3 (p.19)

1. The following are merely some suggested items for inclusion.

   (a) Economic changes include: relative decline of rural industries, relative increase in manufacturing industries, policy of full employment, rising standard of living, urbanisation.

   (b) Political and administrative changes include: relative decline in importance of state governments, growth in financial powers of federal government, greater role of expert advisers, establishment of regulatory authorities and commissions in many fields.

   (c) Social and cultural changes include: growth of educational levels, decline of British influence, growth of welfare services, immigration.

   You may well find other examples in each category, or place items in different categories.

2. There are a number of possibilities. Two of the more obvious omissions are the effects of high technology on employment patterns and education, and the changing social roles and employment patterns of women.

SAQ 4 (p.23)

1. Among the features attributed to the suburban lifestyle in the 1950s, you might have mentioned the following:

   affluence; upward social mobility (workers becoming middle class); political, moral and religious conservatism; racism; materialism; standardised housing, lifestyle and leisure activities; importance of mass media like TV; and continual moving into more prestigious suburbs.

   These features of suburbia seemed to be representative of the affluent and conservative 'American way of life' in the 1950s.

2. The events which challenged this dominant image of American society included the revival of political reformism (the Democratic Party in the 1960s); the black power and civil rights movement; the rediscovery (by social scientists) of blue-collar workers and the poverty of the urban slums; and programmes of urban renewal in inner-city disadvantaged areas. These events placed social problems like economic and political inequality at the forefront of public attention.

3. The four empirical studies summarised by the author are those by Berger, Dobriner, Clark, and Gans. The first

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study denied that workers moving into a new suburb necessarily became more conservative, more status conscious, more active in community affairs, or more inclined to move into 'better' suburbs. The second study denied that the suburbs fostered homogeneity in the socio-economic characteristics of residents: instead, there was a growing heterogeneity (diversity). The third study denied that moving to the suburbs was largely motivated by a striving for higher status and upward social mobility: a search for cheap family housing is a better explanation. The fourth study denied that residential location in itself determines the attitudes and lifestyle of residents: the socio-economic conditions of working-class (or middle-class) life have the major impact on people's attitudes and lifestyle.

SAQ 5 (p.26)

1. Sandercock criticises the town planners of the decades before 1970 because their solution to 'urban' problems (poverty, crime, slums, etc.) was to change the physical environment (better housing, recreation areas, slum clearance, garden suburbs). They overlooked the need for economic and political change, which Sandercock regards as necessary for tackling the real problems of urban inequality and environmental protection.

2. Sandercock advocates a greater role for public intervention in urban development because, in her view: (a) private developers tend to reap speculative profits, artificially increasing the price of land; (b) private developers tend to ignore or escape the social costs of their activities (e.g. environment, transport); (c) public control of land development could stabilise land prices, reduce inequalities (equity), and ensure that the social/environmental costs of development were carefully considered.

SAQ 6 (p.27)

1. The uneven impact of unemployment has several dimensions:

   - youth unemployment is very high;
   - migrants suffer from above-average rates of unemployment;
   - married women find it harder to get a job and are ineligible for unemployment benefits;
   - unemployment is much higher in working-class areas (e.g. far west of Sydney) than richer suburbs (e.g. Sydney's North Shore).

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2. Foreign capital investment in Australian manufacturing has declined since the late 1960s owing to two main factors - an external shift of such investment into 'developing' nations in Southeast Asia, and an internal shift away from manufacturing investment to the Australian mining sector.

3. Manufacturing industry has been a large employer of labour; declining investment in this area has produced widespread unemployment. Investment in mining has not solved this problem, because mining is capital intensive rather than labour intensive.

4. According to Stilwell, the uneven impact of the economic depression has had the following effects:

   (a) Small businesses have suffered in the poorer suburbs; not so in the richer suburbs.

   (b) Social problems increase in the poorer suburbs, largely unnoticed in the richer suburbs.

   (c) Fatalistic views that unemployment is the norm may become reinforced in depressed working-class areas.

   (d) Unemployment, most heavily concentrated in safe ALP seats, is less likely to become an election issue that threatens a Liberal government.

SAQ 7 (p.29)

1. White says that the main economic group whose interests were advanced by the new urban image was the 'Australian manufacturing sector' (p.161). Later, White gives more specific examples of manufacturing, namely the home appliances (white goods) and motor vehicle industries (p.164). White should perhaps have added the larger retailing sector as a major beneficiary of urban consumerism.

2. Instead of being seen as a 'corrupting and debilitating' force, the city (and its suburbs) was seen as the location affording an affluent comfortable lifestyle. Aspects of 'suburbia' which fitted into this image included home ownership, private garden, motor car, and domestic labour-saving devices. Material comfort, and perhaps private space, seem to be the aspects of suburbia which were most valued.

3. Women were given an important role in the modern urban imagery, whereas they had previously been virtually ignored in the bush myth. However, in the modern urban 'way of life', woman's role was portrayed as domestic: housewife, mother, shopper. As such, women became the object of advertisements aimed at stimulating demand for consumer appliances and other domestic goods. Richard White points out (p.168), however, that by the 1970s

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there had emerged a serious critique of women's limited, housebound role. In fact, women had formed a significant element of the workforce in the post-war period (p.165), but female participation in the workforce was not adequately recognised in the conservative myth of the 'Australian way of life'.

SAQ 8 (p.30)

1. (a) According to Horne, Australian writers have failed to describe accurately the main qualities of Australian life. They fail to accept the suburban realities of Australian life, and tend therefore to 'caricature' their fellows or to invent idealised qualities which are not widely shared.

   (b) The four groups mentioned are (i) the Anglophiles, who find Australia uncultured; (ii) those who still see the bush myth as representing the true Australia; (iii) those who idealise a traditional working-class ethos; and (iv) those 'bohemians and rebels' who feel cramped by suburban conformity and affluence.

2. (a) The features of suburbia mentioned in paragraph 3 by Horne include commuting to work (by a male breadwinner); weekend preoccupation with home and garden; materialism or consumerism; and conformism, facilitated by mass secular education.

   (b) Horne mentions two reasons for non-recognition of suburbanism. The first is the strength of 'old myths' (including the bush myth and the traditional working-class myth, both of which were noted in your answer to the previous question). The second reason is not properly elaborated by Horne - he speaks about 'special factors', such as our love of 'outdoor activities', which have somehow obscured the suburban character of our daily lives. This second point is itself obscure - perhaps Horne implies that suburbia is usually seen as centred on domestic activities (house and family), whereas our love of 'outdoor activities' (does he include backyard barbecues? or gardening?) shifts the observer's attention away from domestic preoccupations. Remember that Horne was writing in 1964.

3. You might have chosen two or three examples in paragraph 5:

   (a) 'Within this context the entire range of human comedy and tragedy has its play.'

   (b) 'The profusion of life doesn't wither because people live in small brick houses with red tile roofs.'

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(c) In the last sentence, Horne mentions 'the massive diversities of suburban life ....'

4. Horne lists four pieces of evidence: greater prosperity; slum clearance (forcing a movement to the outer suburbs); increased education; and the rapid increase in white-collar (office) workers and a relative decline in the proportion of blue-collar (manual, unskilled or semi-skilled) workers.

SAQ 9 (p.32)

1. The theme of suburbia (a) suggests a homogeneity, rather than a social diversity, in Australian life; (b) it depicts a multitude of separate households/householders, ignoring social and political relationships which are the dynamic of history and politics; (c) it suggests that the quality of life can be measured in domestic terms, away from the 'outside' world of work, industrial conflict, politics, etc.

2. No standard answer. However, you might want to distinguish between a description of society which tries to explain its fundamental structures and principles of social development (in which economics and politics would be very important), versus a description of the 'essential' or 'typical' characteristics of social life in a particular nation (in which images and myths of a suburban 'lifestyle' may be prominent).

3. In the pages headed 'No flies on the nature strip', Rowse criticises the portraits of suburbia drawn by certain writers in the 1960s. Barry Humphries's suburban characters were originally satirical instruments of social and cultural criticism; but they attracted a misplaced patriotic appreciation of Australian uniqueness. Donald Horne tried to defend the vitality of the suburban lives of ordinary people, against various critics of suburbia; but elsewhere he accepted the critical view of suburbia as materialistic, privatised and domestic. Horne and McGregor both located the 'real' Australia in suburbia, away from the world of work and politics. McGregor went further, suggesting that domestic privatisation and social apathy were valuable forms of freedom.

SAQ 10 (p.37)

1. Adelaide highest, Hobart lowest.

2. Melbourne.

3. No. The data for years 1990 and 2000 in the table are estimates based on current trends. There is no guarantee that these figures are reliable, and therefore the table cannot 'prove' anything about future urban

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growth. You would probably want additional information on such matters as immigration, the relative growth of particular industries, and some of the factors summarised by McCarty (see SAQ 2, question 6).

4. No. The Brisbane population has always been a minority of the Queensland population; it has been increasing at a slow rate in relation to the state population, and if present tendencies continue it might capture 50 per cent of Queensland residents early in the twenty-first century. However, the reasons for Brisbane's failure to dominate the Queensland economy are not evident from the table. As a first step you could find some useful suggestions in McCarty's article (SAQ 2, question 6). For example, you would probably want to gather evidence on the types of industries operating in the Queensland 'hinterland', and whether their products could be cheaply transported to Brisbane. You might find that several coastal ports developed (in competition with Brisbane) to handle exports of primary products and to service the inland areas; railway networks later reinforced this regionalism and decentralisation; and competition from larger cities in other states inhibited the growth of secondary industries in Brisbane.

SAQ 11 (p.38)

1. Can't say - table gives seven-year averages.

2. True.

3. Can't say - lowest of these 15 nations, but other unlisted nations could be lower.

4. Can't say. Actually, the statement is false, but this cannot be discovered from the table, which compares only the population density, not total national population.

5. Can't say. In any case, the population density of a nation depends more on land area than on the number of big cities. This is clearer if you compare the U.S. figure (23) with the U.K. figure (229).

6. Can't say - (a) the figures refer to average population over the whole country, not just the cities; (b) the table allows only a comparison between Mauritius and 14 other nations, not with the whole world.

7. True.

8. True.

9. True: the two figures add up to 120 per cent, instead of 100 per cent.

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SAQ 12 (p.40)

1. In the decade between 1881 and 1891.

2. Brisbane and Hobart.

3. We cannot determine from the table whether the actual population sizes of the cities rose or fell in a particular period. All we know is that the Brisbane population was 24 per cent of the Queensland population in 1901, and had fallen to 23 per cent of the Queensland population in 1911. This information says nothing about the actual population numbers; it only refers to the relative size of two groups, Brisbane and the whole state population. The most likely explanation of the figures is that the Brisbane population grew slowly in that decade, but that the growth rate of total Queensland population was faster - hence a relative decline in the proportion of capital-city residents.

   In the same way, the figures show that the other 5 capital cities increased their proportions of state population in this decade, but the actual numbers of residents are not given in the table.

4. The notion of 'catching up' is a favourite claim of Queensland politicians, but the claim is ambiguous and possibly fallacious. The figures in the table do not resolve our difficulties on this point. 'Catching up' could mean:

   (a) Brisbane will eventually have a population as large as Sydney or Melbourne; or

   (b) Brisbane will eventually gain over 60 per cent of Queensland's population and thereby achieve a similar kind of regional dominance in Queensland as Sydney and Melbourne have already gained in their respective states.

   There is no evidence for the first proposition in the table of figures, since the actual population size of the capital cities is not provided. Even if the figures represented actual city populations (instead of percentage of state populations), there is no guarantee that the growth pattern of Brisbane would continue in its present direction (recall our analysis of Toffler, reading 11).

   There is no evidence for the second proposition, which also rests on the fallacy of projecting future growth on the basis of past tendencies. We know from recent reports in the mass media that Queensland is attracting considerable migration from Victoria and New South Wales: however, much of this is absorbed by the tourist resorts and beach areas, rather than by the Brisbane metropolitan area.

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SAQ 13 (p.48)

1. The western suburbs of Brisbane are characterised by above-average levels of income, education and professional/technical workers; this probably also means - though this is not mentioned in the *Atlas* - that property values are relatively high.

2. Older suburbs include Ascot, Hamilton, Clayfield, Coorparoo and Yeronga. Newer suburbs include Aspley, Stafford Heights, Sunnybank and McDowall; presumably some other 'new' areas might emerge from the 1981 Census.

3. Labourers and factory workers; the elderly and pensioned; the unemployed, transient and socially detached.

4. A pattern of 'class segregation' has come to replace socially 'mixed' residential patterns in Brisbane.

5. Private developers have strengthened the pattern of class segregation by aiming new developments at particular sectors of the housing market; their search for profitable new areas has hastened the suburban sprawl. The Housing Commission builds relatively low-cost welfare housing; their concentrated building programmes have affected the character of certain suburbs, and also unwittingly strengthened the pattern of class segregation. You might recall Sandercock's argument (reading 7) in favour of a greater role for public development of housing (SAQ 5 above).

SAQ 14 (p.49)

1. The high level of professional/clerical workers in Canberra (Table 2.1) is reflected in the high levels of tertiary and further education shown in Table 2.3. Canberra gained the highest scores for university and college students, full-time students, holders of a degree/diploma, and holders of a technical certificate.

2. Brisbane gained above-average scores in the following occupational groups: administrative, clerical, sales, transport, armed forces, and (marginally) services.

3. Lower spending on education by the Queensland government than by other state governments (see Coppell, p.141); relative lack of employment opportunities in scientific/technical/professional fields; relative importance of rural industries (and tourism, more recently). You might think of other reasons as well.

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SAQ 15 (p.51)

1. (a) Highest proportions of professionals: western suburbs, northside inner suburbs, inner city, northwestern suburbs, southern suburbs.

   (b) Lowest proportions of labourers: western suburbs, northwestern suburbs, southern suburbs, northside inner suburbs, inner city.

   (c) The striking point is that the two lists are the same.

2. This suggests a clear pattern of class segregation, at least at the top and bottom of the social hierarchy. The upper-middle classes tend to live in certain suburbs, which are too expensive for working-class families.

3. (a) Poorest suburbs - family incomes under $5000 scale: Redcliffe, inner city, southside inner suburbs (3 highest scores).

   (b) Poorest suburbs - family incomes over $15,000 scale: inner city, southside inner suburbs, Redcliffe (3 lowest scores).

   (c) Poorest suburbs - median family incomes scale: inner city, southside inner suburbs, Redcliffe (3 lowest scores).

   Note that these three measures of relative poverty give the same results in this case.

4. Redcliffe, inner city, southside inner suburbs, northside inner suburbs.

5. Redcliffe, inner city, Caboolture, Redland, southside inner suburbs.

SAQ 16 (p.52)

Column 1: Canberra, Darwin, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Hobart, Perth, Brisbane.

Column 2: Canberra, Darwin, Melbourne, Sydney, Hobart, Adelaide, Perth, Brisbane.

SAQ 17 (pp.53,54)

1. The per capita figures are lower than the median family income figures because -

   (a) family income may be boosted by the income of additional income earners (besides the 'main' breadwinner);

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(b) per capita income figures reflect the average individual income level, and are reduced by the fact that many individuals (children, other non-working dependants) have no income.

2. Brisbane, Hobart.

3. Brisbane, Adelaide.

4. Possible reasons include the high level of interstate and foreign ownership of Queensland businesses (hence, transfer of profits and dividends out of the state); generally smaller size of business enterprises; lower levels of tertiary education.

SAQ 18 (p.55)

1. Suburb A is likely to have a larger proportion of households with a high level of material comfort, because

   (a) professional workers, who presumably have above-average incomes, are more strongly represented in Suburb A;

   (b) per capita income in Suburb A is likely to be higher also because its dependency rate is lower (i.e., fewer mouths to feed) than in Suburb B.

2. See the points made by Sandercock on p.24-6 of the study guide.

SAQ 19 (p.56)

1. Manufacturing; wholesale/retail; community services.

2. Yes; the figures in column 2 for these three industries are higher than the corresponding figures in column 1.

3. Agriculture; mining (lowest scores in column 3).

4. Finance/business services; communication; manufacturing; public administration/defence (highest scores in column 3).

SAQ 20 (pp.56,57)

1. Sydney highest; Brisbane lowest.

2. Melbourne, Brisbane.

3. Of these five cities, Brisbane has the lowest proportion of brick or stone housing, and the highest proportion of timber housing.

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4. The high scores achieved in Adelaide on these three diverse measures are probably coincidental, rather than the result of a causal inter-relationship. Each factor can probably be explained without reference to the others. For example, the high proportion of brick/stone housing is a product of the local availability and cheap supply of such building materials; the sewerage system is largely a product of political policies and bureaucratic planning; and the level of home-ownership is similar to that in other cities.

5. The impressionistic statement assumes that 'suburbia' is essentially characterised by separate houses on separate blocks of land, where independence and private space are possible. High-density accommodation, on the other hand, is assumed to be a sign either of (unacceptable) overcrowding, or inner-city living in a cosmopolitan metropolis, rather than suburbia. You may accept or reject these two assumptions.

   The lower proportion of flats in Brisbane cannot be explained from the table, nor can the higher proportion of separate houses. Further information on the history of the land and housing markets, urban development patterns, and architecture, would be necessary to explain these tendencies.

   [For Russel Ward, colonial Brisbane was a 'frontier' frontier town in the sense that it was a channel for rural economic activities and rural cultural influences. Whether people lived in houses or flats is probably irrelevant to that debate. Evidence concerning the values and attitudes of Brisbane residents during the last hundred years would be very important, together with the effects of immigration from 'southern' states.]

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